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~~A~~ HISTORY OF SOUTH KANARA

~~(From the earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagara)~~

By

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Thesis

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73. Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary.
74. M. Winslow: Tamil-English Dictionary.
75. U. Narasinga Rao: A Kisamwar Glossary of Kanarese words.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva : History of Tuluva
2. Annual Report, Mysore Archaeological Department : AMAD.
3. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy: ARIE.
4. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy: ARSIE.
5. South Indian Inscription Series: SII.
6. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: CII.
7. Epigraphia Carnatica: Ep. Carn.
8. Epigraphia Indica: Ep. Ind.
9. Indian Antiquary: Ind. Ant.
10. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: JRAS.
11. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: JBBRAS.
12. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part II, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts: Dyn. Kan. Dist.
13. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society: QJMS.
14. Buchanan: A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar: Buchanan's Southern India.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this thesis is to present in detail the political history of the district of South Kanara, forming a part of the Mysore State, from the earliest traceable historical times to the fall of Vijayanagara in 1565 A.D. As a natural corollary, brief chapters on the administrative, social, economic and religious conditions which prevailed during the long period under study have been included.

The thesis is, by necessity, chiefly based on the information contained in the numerous lithic and copper plate inscriptions hailing from the district and its adjacent territory. Geographically, the South Kanara region is separated from the rest of the South Indian peninsula by the formidable heights of the Western Ghats. Having had to lead, for most of its known historical period, a life of political and, to a lesser degree, cultural and linguistic isolation, largely owing to this geographical barrier, the region has, naturally enough, received very occasional and scanty notices in the literary works of the period in question. At the same time no literary works of the period produced in South Kanara itself and capable of adding to our knowledge of the region's history have so far been brought to light. The Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa, which has come to be considered as an appendix to the ancient Skandapurāṇa and the Grāmapaddhati, a compilation of local traditions and legends, though they purport to delineate the history of South Kanara and though they lay claims to

antiquity, betray, by their very contents, their recent origin. While I could not secure direct access to the pages of the Grāmapaddhati and had to depend entirely on the scholarly dissertation of Saletore on its unhistoricity,¹ I had the opportunity to personally examine the Sahyādri-kāṇḍa² and found it to be as unreliable as the other work. Nevertheless, wherever their statements have been found to agree with the known details of the region's history, they have been accepted and utilised in this thesis. Such instances are, of course, very few.

More than five hundred inscriptions, from South Kanara alone, have been studied in detail as a prelude to the preparation of this thesis. These records, covering, with a rather remarkable chronological continuity, the long period from the middle of the seventh century to 1565 A.D., fall into three distinct groups. The first group of inscriptions belongs to the period of the early Ālupas, from the middle of the 7th century to the middle of the 10th century. These handful of records are all undated and are, as a rule, brief and contain meagre information for the history of the region. Three factors have been taken into consideration in fixing their dates: (1) palaeography (2) historical information contained in them (3) similar information contained in other contemporaneous records. The

1 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 347 ff.

2 Sahyādri-kāṇḍa edited by Gerson de Cunha.

second group belongs to the period of the medieval and later Alupas and also the Hoysalas and has been found in larger numbers than in the former case. Covering a period from 968 A.D. to the end of the 14th century, these records are more helpful in the task of reconstructing the history of the region. These records, as also the earlier ones, are of purely local interest and contain very few references to political powers outside South Kanara.

The third group of inscriptions belongs to the period of Vijayanagara. Starting from at least A.D. 1345, the district of South Kanara formed an integral part of the great empire right until, and even after, A.D. 1565. To this period belong a large number of inscriptions on stones, many of them helping the student of history with detailed information on the political, social, economic as well as religious developments in the region during the period. Copper plate charters, which are totally absent in the earlier period, make their appearance under the Vijayanagara rulers.

To these is to be added a few copper plate and stone inscriptions found outside the bounds of South Kanara but having a bearing on that region's history. It is from these records that the relationship of the local rulers of South Kanara with the regions and royal houses outside have to be known.

The region, whose history this thesis attempts to reconstruct, is referred to in the following pages either as the district of South Kanara or as the Tulu country or Tuluva. The present name of the region is South Kanara District and has been so

since A.D. 1860 when it was given its present territorial shape³ by the British administration. The region is referred to as Tulu-nādu in Aganāpūru,⁴ a Saṅgam work of the early centuries of the Christian era and as Tulu-vishaya in the Bārakūru ins-⁵cription of the 11th century of the reign of Baṅkidēva I. During the Vijayanagara period, South Kanara is also referred to in the inscriptions as Tulu-rājya and Tulu-dēsa. Iḷuva-khēḍa, a name given to this region by some outside inscriptions, is rarely used in this thesis to denote the South Kanara district mainly because no inscription from the Tulu country itself calls the region by this name.

We may now turn our attention to the geography of this territory. The anonymous author of a late medieval Kannada ins-⁶cription from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, South Kanara District, sings, in very general terms -

kāsār-āḍigaḷim Tulu-dēsaṁ

kaḍu-rayyam-ādud-ā Bharataḍ-oḷam

"In that land of Bharata was the Tulu country, rendered extremely beautiful by its ponds, etc." This uncommitting location of the Tulu country follows a conventional dissertation in verse in the course of which the author reveals that this land of Bharata lay sprawled to the south of the Golden Mountain in

3 Madras District Manuals - South Kanara, p.3.

4 Agam, 15.

5 SII., Vol. VII, No. 328

6 Ibid., No.202

the Jambu-dvīpa which is like a lotus in the centre of the salty ocean. While Jambu-dvīpa is one of the seven continents of conventional Indian geography, the Golden Mountain, referred to by the poet as Pombetta and Suragiri, is the mythical Mēru mountain which has been identified with the highland of Tartary north of the Himalayas.⁷ While this narrative does not seriously violate the sound theories of modern geography, authors of a few inscriptions⁸ of about the same period from the districts of South and North Kanara make the faulty claim that the Tulu country was situated in the Ārya-khaṇḍa which formed a part of Bhārata. The number of sources which place Ārya-khaṇḍa, more often termed Āryāvartta, between the Himalayas and the Vidhyān range⁹ is by far overwhelming.

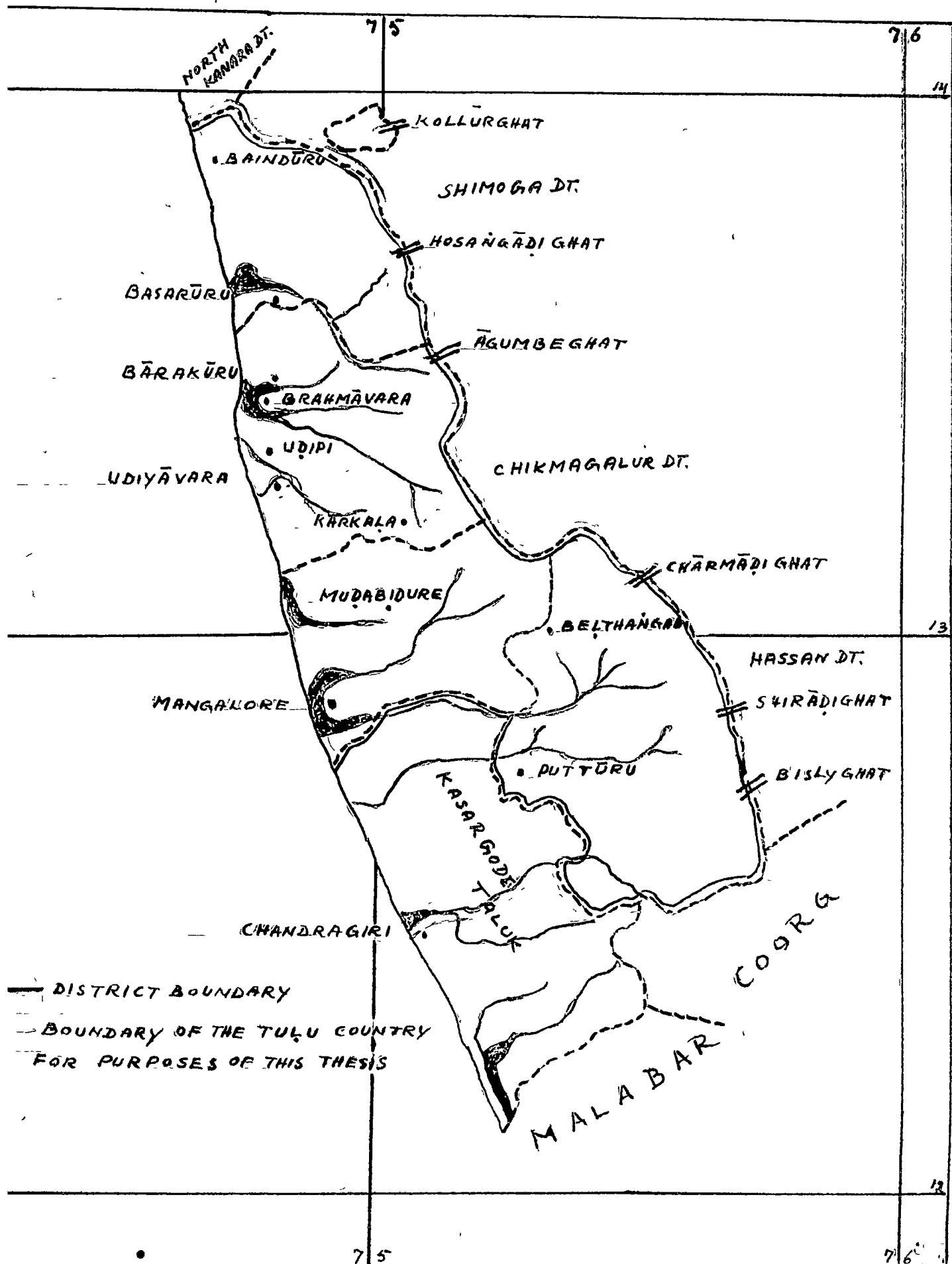
South Kanara forms the southern of the two coastal districts of Mysore State. The Western or the Arabian Sea is its natural boundary on the west. The coast line is almost straight, broken, however, at numerous points by rivers, rivulets, creaks and bays. The length of the coast line for South Kanara as it obtains today is just a little over eighty miles as against a distance of over one hundred and ten miles between two farthest points of the district. While the Western Sea receives scanty reference in Ālupa inscriptions, after the introduction of Vijaya-

7 Ind. Ant., Vol. V (1876), p. 333

8 SII., Vol. VII, Nos. 196 and 207; Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 41 and 49.

9 vide verse 22 of Chapter 2 of Manusmṛiti (Nirṇayasagar edn.) which gives the lead to most of the later definitions.

MAP OF SOUTH KANARA



nagara authority, the many port towns in the district assumed great importance for even the very safety of the empire through the import of war-horses from foreign lands. Thus from the middle of the fourteenth century, the life of Tuluva came to hinge to a great extent on the maritime trade carried out from these ports.

Unlike the Coast-line, the course of the Western Ghāts, South Kanara's natural barrier on the east, is irregular. With quite a number of peaks measuring to more than 4000 feet above mean sea level, three of them rising above 6000 feet, with the average altitude of the range being as much as 2000 feet and with the wild growth of dense and unfriendly forests all over, the western mountain range has served in the past to effectively isolate South Kanara from any easy and large-scale contacts with the regions to its east. Yet, it will be a historical error to hold that such isolation was complete, except perhaps in pre-historic times. In the north, the Western Ghats are, in the Coondapur Taluk, nowhere more than 25 miles from the sea and at one point they have only six miles of plain land between themselves. It is at this point that the northern boundary for South Kanara, separating it from the district of North Canara, lies.

of

In the south, till the 1st^{of} November, 1956, when the States were reorganised, the Kasargode Taluk was the southern most division of the South Kanara district. This Taluk, which is now in Kerala State, exemplifies as to how effectively and completely a natural barrier could separate peoples of differing linguistic and cultural strains. For, the Chandragiri river, which cuts this

Taluk into two parts, has for long been the most effective barrier between the Tulu speaking northerners and the Malayalam speaking southerners of the Taluk.¹⁰ Epigraphical discoveries in the Kasargode Taluk have been few and far between. Even the handful of records so far noticed from this tract add very little to our knowledge of the history of the period with which the present thesis is concerned. For purposes of this work, therefore, the Chandragiri river offers itself as the most reasonable boundary in the south.

Thus, moving from the north southwards, the present day district of South Kanara is bounded by the North Kanara, Shimoga, Chikmagalur, Hassan and Goorg districts of Mysore State and the Cannanore district of Kerala State. It is divided into the Coondapur, Udipi, Karkala, Mangalore, Belthangadi, Bantwal and Puttur Taluks.

We have pointed out above that though the Tulu country was isolated from the rest of South India, such isolation was not complete. It will be seen from Chapter II below that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Nannan, an early ruler of the Tulu country, successfully carried his arms into the north-western parts of the Tamil country through Kēraḷa, the northern extremes of which State were under his sway. Again, as shown in Chapter III, when^e the Ālupas make their appearance in the middle of the seventh century, they are found in possession of the famous and ancient division called Banavāsi-12000 which comprised portions of the North Kanara, Dharwar and Shi-

10 The Tulu Language: A Historical Survey (QJMS.,

moga districts. Besides this, the early Ālupas also held sway over the Pombuchcha region which comprised of portions of the Shimoga and Chikmagalur districts. Evidently, the Kollūr, Hosāṅgaḍi, Āgumbe, Shirāḍi, Bisli and Sampāji Ghats, which provide access into South Kanara at present, were made use of from early times by the Tuluva people to maintain their lean contacts with the rest of South India.

During the Medieval Ālupa period, however, the territorial limits of the Tulu country had shrunk to practically the present day bounds of the district. It will be seen from Chapter IV that this period, ranging from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 14th centuries, marked a period of political isolation for the Ālupas and their kingdom when they were mostly left to themselves by the greater powers of the Deccan. The Pombuchcha region which had formed an integral part of the early Ālupa possessions became the independant kingdom of the Sāntaras and was known as Sāntalige-1000 from about the beginning of the 10th century.

In the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, however, the Tulu country was shaken once for all from out of its isolation. From at least A.D. 1333, the district of South Kanara came under Hoysala sway and became a permanent part of the Vijayanagar empire as early as in A.D. 1345. It was during the Vijayanagara period that the territorial picture of the Tulu country underwent profound changes. With the disappearance

of the Alupas, who lingered on as an autonomous ruling house till the end of the fourteenth century, a number of tiny principalities make their appearance, most of them under rulers professing the Jaina faith. The more powerful among them possessed territories which were beyond the bounds of the Tulu country. The Hāduvaḷḷi and Nagire chiefs of North Kanara held their sway also over the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. The powerful Jaina rulers of Kārkala were also the rulers of the Kaḷasa region in the Chikmagalur district beyond the Ghats. Even some of the governors appointed by the Vijayanagara emperors to administer the Bārakūru-rājya served simultaneously as administrators of the neighbouring divisions. These facts find detailed elucidation in Chapter VI below. Thus, the introduction of Vijayanagara authority in South Kanara heralded the end of the region's political and territorial isolation, and, of course, independence. Nevertheless, inscriptions of this period clearly illustrate the fact that the district did not lose its distinct territorial identity in itself.

As early as in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., Ptolemy, the Greek geographer referred to this region by its own name of Olokhoira = Aluva-khēḍa. To the Tamil poets of the Saṅgam Age (early centuries of the Christian era), it was known as Tulu-nāḍu. These points are discussed in detail in Chapter II below. From the dawn of datable history in the middle of the seventh century, ^{to} the end of the fourteenth century, the region was under its own local ruling house, that of the Alupas. During this period, the kingdom bore the names of Tulu-vishaya and Aluvakhēḍa-6000. Even when, under the aegis of the Vijayanagar

rulers, the territorial bounds of South Kanara had come to be readjusted, the region itself was called by such names of Tulu-dēsa and Tulurājya. While this persistent characteristic of territorial distinctness by itself justifies a separate study of the region's history, such an approach stands further vindicated by the fact that the region is important also as an important linguistic compartment of the Dravidian family. It is the land of one of the five major Dravidian dialects, namely Tulu. The facts that the Tulu dialect belongs to the Dravidian stock and that it, at the same time, differs widely from its sister dialects Kannāḍa, Tamil and Malayālam bear testimony to the early separation of the Tulu speaking man from his other Dravidian brethren and to the long duration of his isolation in which he built up his own linguistic, cultural and even political set up.

This leads us to the question - how long ago did man first appear in the coastal district of South Kanara? This question can not be answered with chronological certainty. It is accepted on all hands that the earliest man in the western coastal belt was preceded by many generations elsewhere in the Deccan. In the remote past, more than now, the coastal tract, as also the mountain range to its east, were densely covered with impenetrable forests. Robert Bruce Foote says 'the settlement of man on the heavily forested mountain was not possible till he had obtained the use of iron axes, wherewith to fell the huge trees he had to clear away, before he could accomplish the

agricultural work on a large scale.¹¹ If we take into account the long years of industry and suffering in which the iron-age men would have been involved before finally clearing the forests and settling down to an agricultural life on the coastal tract, the association of Parasurāma, who, as his very name suggests, had the axe for his weapon, with the creation of Tuluva and, for that matter, the whole of the western coastal tract, significantly called Parasurāma kshātra, comes to bear a new significance. Perhaps, the faint recollections of what had happened in the remote past induced later generations to coin this legend, the antiquity and popularity of which is illustrated by its mention in the Mahābhārata¹² and Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa.¹³ The dating of the earliest man in South Kanara to the Iron Age will, however, have to stand the test of a thorough Archaeological exploration which has not so far been conducted in that region.

As for the ethnic stock to which the first settlers in South Kanara belonged, on the strength of the Dravidian dialect of Tulu which is the oldest known dialect in the district, it may be surmised that they belonged to the Dravidian group. 'We suppose that at a very early period in the history of India, the whole of the sub-continent was inhabited by Dravidian tribes;

11 Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities, Notes, on Ages and Distribution, p. 48.

12 Mahābhārata (BOR., Institute, Poona, 1949), Śānti-parva-Rājadharmā-parva, vv. 58-59

13 Raghuvamśa, Chapter 4, vv. 53-58

when subsequently the Aryan hordes invaded the north of India, the Dravidian tribes living in those areas were forced to seek some other home. The majority of them fled towards the south as a result of which the Deccan plateau became overcrowded. People were obliged to go in search of less populated or uninhabited areas and, in course of time, permanent settlements were established along the coastal tracts, including South Kanara.¹⁴ In this task, the migrating Dravidian must have been greatly helped by the iron axe.

The Tulu dialect differs widely from Tamil and Telugu and, at the same time, betrays considerable relationship to Kannada. It also displays striking similarities with the dialect of Kodagu or Coorg. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that the Dravidian migrants who settled in South Kanara must have belonged to those tribes who lived in the western parts of the Deccan where to-day the Kannada language flourishes. While the migrants were crossing the formidable Ghats, a portion of the migrating population may have settled down in the Kodagu region while the rest wended their way down to the coastal tract across the ranges.¹⁴ The grim prospects of crossing the huge heights must have left these people in comparative isolation, thus resulting in the development of Tulu, 'a peculiar and very interesting language which looks as if it had been cultivated for its own sake.'¹⁵

¹⁴ vide The Tulu Language: A Historical Survey (QJMS., Karnataka Number), pp.8-9.

¹⁵ vide p.35 of Introduction to 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages' by

We may now briefly discuss the origin and etymology of the word Tulu which has to-day come to signify the dialect, the people who speak it and the land where it is spoken. Many suggestions have been made by way of explanation. The explanations given in legendary works, seeking to derive the word Tulu from Tulāpurusha dāna and the mythical name of Tulubhan¹⁶ Perumal are convincingly refuted by Saletore¹⁷ and, hence, are not dealt with here for fear of mere repetition. Saletore himself is of the view¹⁷ that Tulu owes its origin to the old Kannada word tūlu meaning 'to attack'. He also speaks at length about the war-like qualities of the Tulu man in support of his theory. It has, however, been pointed out above that, on the strength of the available epigraphical evidence, the name Tulu must be deemed as originally having been given the region of South Kanara by outsiders i.e. by the inhabitants of the Kannada and Tamil countries who, incidentally, were not less war-like in their qualities than the people of Tuluva.

It has also been suggested that the word Tulu is to be derived from the original Dravidian form of Turu standing for cattle and that the Tuluvas in ancient times belonged to the profession of cattle-breeders.¹⁸ On the one hand, the change

Caldwell, II Edn.

16 Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp.1-4

17 Ibid., pp. 4 ff.

18 P. Gururaja Bhat: Tulu-nādu, pp. 27 ff.

of r into l, as envisaged in the Turu > Tulu theory, can not be philologically justified. On the other hand, while numerous inscriptions from Karnāṭaka proper record the death of heroes in cattle raids, thus illustrating the importance of cattle in every day life, not one such record has been found in South Kanara and, what is more, any visitor to the region will find even to-day that cattle in the Tulu country are under-sized and that good cattle have to be brought from beyond the Ghāṭs.

A view which has been dismissed, without much thought being bestowed upon it, is that the word Tulu itself, in its original form, signifies mildness, softness or meakness.¹⁹ In the Tulu language as spoken to-day, when this word qualifies certain fruits, it stands for the softness of the fruit; e.g. tuluve palakkāyi (soft Jack fruit); tuluve kukku (soft mango). In ancient days too, the region of South Kanara must have been famous for the variety of soft fruits and may have, therefore, come to be called Tulu-nāḍu outside its own bounds as a mark of distinction. The word Tulu thus appears to be a synonym of the Tamil word tulir which stands for a young leaf or tender foliage. As a prop to this theory may be quoted the name of an ancient division in the Dharwar region, namely Palāsikā - or Halasige-12000, evidently named after the Palāsa tree (*Butea frondosa*) which must have grown in abundance in that region.

The present thesis has been spread over ten chapters of which Chapter I contains the introductory statements made above. Chapters II, III, IV, V and VI deal with the political

history of the district from the earliest beginnings to the fall of Vijayanagara. Of these, Chapter IV on the medieval Ālupas commences with the reign of Kundavarma whose Kapḍiri inscription of A.D. 968, though a little early to be called medieval, nevertheless marks a new beginning in the epigraphical history of the region by giving, for the first time, the date of its writing. Chapter VI on South Kanara during Vijayanagara times, has grown lengthy. This has been to a great extent unavoidable chiefly because the history of the many local ruling families had to be narrated as and when their records appeared in the chronological sequence.

It may be felt that the reign periods of the Ālupas, in particular of the earlier rulers, have been fixed in a rather arbitrary way. The fact, however, is that dated references to their reigns have been either totally lacking or few and far between. Nevertheless, the scientific method of assigning dates on palaeographical grounds has been strictly followed in such cases. Having been closely acquainted with the nature and contents of the early records from South Kanara, the present writer feels that future discoveries are not likely to effect drastic changes in the chronological and genealogical tabulations arrived at in this thesis.

Studies on the Art and Architecture and the Cultural aspects of South Kanara have not been included in this thesis, though enough source material is available on these topics. They have been left out chiefly because much of the allotted time for this thesis has been taken away by the Chapters on the region's political history.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

Very little is known about any aspect of life in South Kanara at the dawn of South Indian History which is generally dated from the rise of the Mauryan empire of Magadha late in the fourth century B.C. In those early times this tiny coastal tract does not appear to have played any significant role in the history of peninsular India. When this is viewed in contrast with the very close contacts which its southern counterpart, Kēraḷa or the ancient kingdom of the Chēras, maintained with its neighbours to the east from the earliest historical times, the inevitable conclusion is that the comparatively more formidable heights and thicknesses of the Western Ghāṭs bordering on South Kanara successfully prevented the latter's contacts with adjacent territories in the Deccan as well as in the Tamilian south. Yet, this geophysical barrier did not leave the district in complete isolation even in those early times as is evidenced by the scanty epigraphical and literary references to this coastal region, starting from the edicts of Asōka himself.

The second rock-edict of Asōka, who ruled over the whole of India except the extreme south from about 273-72 B.C. to about 232 B.C., while enumerating friendly countries bordering his vast empire, mentions five from the south namely the Chōḍā,

the Pāṇḍiyā¹, the Kēralaputra, the Tāmbapāṇḍī and the Satiya-putō. Of these the first three represent the three ancient Tamil kingdoms of the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas² and Chēras while the fourth was, more likely, Ceylon or, less likely, the region around the Tāmbrapāṇḍī³ river in the Tinnevelley district of the Madras State. The fifth name Satiyaputō, which is mentioned as such in the Gīrnar and Kalsi versions, as Satiyaputē in the Jaugada version and as Satiyaputra in the Shahbazgarhi and Manshera versions of the second rock-edict, still continues to be a subject of controversy.

It has come to be generally accepted that the Sanskrit version of Satiyaputō, Satiyaputē or Satiyaputra is Satyaputra. In view of the conclusions to be arrived at regarding the location of this Satyaputra in the pages to come, it becomes necessary to refer to and to discuss here under the important among the numerous theories which attempt to identify this name with one or the other region of the country. Scholars who have dwelt upon this problem have put forth their own arguments in favour of locating Asōka's Satyaputra with the following regions:

1] According to V.A. Smith in all probability the Satiyaputra people, kingdom or country "is represented by the Satya-

1 R.G. Basak: Asoken Inscriptions, pp. 5 ff.

2 GII., Vol. I, p. 117, footnote

3 V.A. Smith: Asōka, The Buddhist Emperor of India, III edn., p. 162.

maṅgalam Taluk or sub-division of the Coimbatore District, lying along the Western Ghāṭs, and bordering on Mysore, Malabar, Coimbatore and Coorg. The town of the same name commands the Gazalhatti Pass from Mysore, which used to be of strategical importance." ⁴

2] S.V. Venkateswara observes - "Satyaputra was the name of the country or people having Kāñchīpuram for its capital" ⁴ - The author puts forth the following arguments in support of the above theory:-

- a) Patañjali (C. 150 B.C.) "mentions not only Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Chēra dominions, but also Kāñchīpura. Satyaputra is conspicuous by omission, as Kāñchīpura is in the Asōka edict. One may reasonably be inclined to ask if the one name could not be identified with the other".
- b) "Even to-day we find unmistakable evidence of ancient Bauddha vestiges at Kāñchī".
- c) "Even to-day the Brahmans of Kāñchī use the expression Satyavrata-kshētra in their religious rites. In a copper-plate grant of the seventeenth century Kāñchīpura is described as Satyavrata-nāmāṅkita-Kāñchī-divya-kshētra".
- d) Pinbalagiya Perumāḷ Jīyar, a contemporary of Nampillai, a disciple of Vaḍakkuttiruvīdi pillai, who

4 Ibid., p. 161.

was a prasiṣhya of the great Rāmānujāchārya (c. 1100 A.D.) the founder of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, uses the expression Satyavratā-kṣhētra in his Guruparamparā.⁵

3] According to P.J. Thoma, Satyaputra is the same as the Satyabhūmi, mentioned "in at least two places in the Kēraḷōtpatti and which lay towards the north of the Chēramān's kingdom (Kēraḷa proper)".⁶

4] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says - "The first part of the word is generally taken to be Satya. I should like to raise the question whether it could not be regarded (even as an Apabhraṃsa form) as a derivative from Satī (Chaste wife). It seems to me to be a Kannaḍa Apabhraṃsa, meaning "Children of women who are peculiarly Satī (Chaste) with reference to the prevalent matriarchate where widowhood is impossible. This seems possible, as we know that Kannaḍa as a distinct language may reach back to Patañjali's age". At the end, the revered scholar concludes "It seems more likely, therefore, that these Satiyaputras were a western people, and have to be looked for between the Kēraḷas and the Rāshṭrakas along the western hills, and that it is likely that the Sātputē are their modern re-

5 JRAS., 1918, pp. 541-42

6 JRAS., 1923, pp.411-14. In p.412 the author defines Satyabhūmi as roughly corresponding to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Kanara".



presentatives. If so, could it not be the collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars of the Malabar and Kanara districts of to-day?"⁷

5] D.R. Bhandarkar says - "The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhas, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sātputēs had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points out, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahā-rāshṭra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes".⁸

6] According to G. Bühler "the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats."⁹

7] T.N. Subramaniam observes - " . . . the boundaries of the Koṅgu-nāḍu are as follows: In the north Talaimalai (in the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Coimbatore district near the boundary of the Mysore State), in the south Vaikāvūr (in Palni Hills), in the east Kulitalai (in the Trichy district) and in the west the Western Ghats. The Koṅgu-nāḍu was governed by a line of kings named Kōsar, and they are often mentioned in Tamil classical literature. They are famous for their Satya. In Aham they are often mentioned as -

Onrumalik-Kōsar (196)

7 IRAS., 1919, pp. 581-84

8 JBBRAS., Vol. XXI, p. 898.

9 Ep.Ind., Vol. II, p. 466, foot-note 2.

(Kōsar that always speak the truth.)

Vāymoli nilaiya sēpiṭṭaṅgu nallisai
vaṭṭaṅgu Kōsar. (205)

(Kōsar, whose fame for speaking the truth has
reached the heaven), etc.

Again Aham (262) has a reference to a story in which
a Kōsar excused a man who committed a serious crime because
he spoke the truth. Thus we see that they not only speak the
truth, but also have a high regard for Satya. The Kōsars of
Koṅgu are also of sufficient importance in the history of
Tamilaham to deserve special mention in the inscription of
Asōka. Thus I identify the Satyaputra with the Kōsars of
Koṅgunādu."¹⁰

8] L.D. Barnett says - "Another tribe to whom he (i.e.
Asōka)¹¹ alludes is that of the Satiya-putas. Possibly they may
represent the region around Mangalore; but it is at least equally
likely that they were the fore-fathers of the Sātavāhana dynasty
of the Andhra-dēsa."¹²

Before discussing the merits or otherwise of the above
theories, it is necessary to make here a few general obser-

¹⁰ JRAS., 1922, pp. 84-86

¹¹ The content within the brackets is mine.

¹² The Cambridge History of India, 1922, Vol. I, p.
603. As early as in 1887, Dr. Burgess suggested a possible
connection between the Satiyaputa and the Sātavāhanas in ASSI.,
(Amaravati), p.3.

vations. It may be safely assumed that, with the enumeration of the five South Indian countries, the second rock-edict of Asōka sought to cover the whole area that lay in the extreme south and outside his bounds. It is known from the provenance of the Asōkan edicts themselves that the Mauryan emperor's southern possessions dug well into the old Mysore State, thus leaving only the entire Tamil country and the present-day Kerala State and South Kanara district in independent existence. It is only proper to believe that the Chōḍā, Pāṇḍiyā and Kērala-putra countries of the rock-edict meant to cover the entire Tamil and Malayalam countries of to-day. We know that from the days of the earliest available Tamil literature, for centuries, the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms, spread over the Tamil and Malayalam regions, loomed large over the possessions of numerous petty chieftains, depriving the latter of any significant role by themselves, let alone the accumulation of any importance to the extent of being mentioned as an independent neighbour by Asōka.¹³ Theories based upon the assumption that Satyaputra may refer to another less-known or long obsolete region within the Tamil country will not, therefore, hold much water.

It is in this light that Smith's location of Satyaputra

13 It is in this context that the identification of Asōka's Tāmbapāṇḍī with Ceylon gains ground at the expense of its identification with the region around the Tāmbraparṇī river which only formed a part of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas.

in the Satyamangalam Taluk falls to the ground. As if to give credence to his theory Smith says - "In the seventeenth century there was a province called Satyamangalam in the Nayak kingdom of Madura (Ind. Ant. XLV, p. 200). It is possible that that may have been meant by Asoka".¹⁴ It is well known that after the destruction of Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century, the vast empire was divided into innumerable bits by warring chieftains. Satyamangalam was only one such. Epigraphical evidence from the concerned region itself does not help us take the existence of the province or its name Satyamangalam to any antiquity. It is, therefore, surprising that Smith chose to identify Satyaputra, mentioned in the rock-edict of the 3rd century B.C. with Satyamangalam, a province of the seventeenth century A.D., on the mere ground that both the names contain the word Satya in their first half.

As for the identification of Satyaputra with the Kāñchīpuram 'Country', it should be pointed out that Satyavrata as a geographical name has not been shown to be sufficiently ancient. It has also been pointed out that Satyavrata, as a place-name, denoted, more strictly, only a part of the city of Kāñchīpuram.¹⁵ This famous city comes into political dominance for the first time during the time of the Pallavas in the sixth century¹⁶ and

¹⁴ Early History of India, IV, edn., p. 194, foot-note 1.

¹⁵ JRAS., 1919, p. 581

¹⁶ A History of South India, II edn., p. 97.

in those early times neither the city nor the country for which it was the capital was known by the name of Satyavrata.¹⁷ It is obvious that, like Smith, the author of the Kāñchīpuram theory was swayed by the presence of the word Satya in Satyaputra and Satyavrata. It is very probable that Kāñchīpuram and its surroundings formed an integral part of the Chōla kingdom of Asōka's times. If, on the other hand, the Kāñchīpuram region had been of such importance as to be mentioned in Asōka's rock-edict, early Tamil literature would not have completely ignored its existence.

Satyaputra = Satyabhūmi is yet another identification inspired by the common word Satya. The author of this theory says - "The legitimate approach to the question seems to be to inquire whether the name "Satya" had been formerly used to denote any locality or region on the West Coast. The ancient literature of that country must enlighten us on the point. Early Tamil works like Śilappadigāram and Pattu-pāṭṭu were composed on the West Coast; and subsequently there arose agglomerations of Malabar legends such as Kēraḷōṭpatti and Kēraḷamāhātmyam".¹⁸ Early Tamil literature, however, did not help and hence the author resorted to Kēraḷōṭpatti which, as has already been pointed out, mentions the Satyabhūmi 'in at least two places'. The untenability of this identification is inadvertently made

17 For ancient names of the Pallava country see JRAS., 1919, pp. 583-84.

18 JRAS., 1923, pp. 411-14

19 Ibid., pp.411-12.

out by the author himself when he says - "The Kēraḷōtpatti is a legendary work of uncertain date, and though it professes to give a continuous history of Malabar from Parasurāma's days, it is replete with anachronisms and inaccuracies, which tend to discredit its historical value."¹⁹ On the basis of this unreliable work it is not advisable to try to demarcate the boundary of the Kēraḷaputa territory and then to say that whatever land then remained in the northern parts of the present-day Kēraḷa State may have been known as Satyaputra.²⁰

The ingenious interpretation of Satiya-putra to mean 'the children of Chaste Women' and its connection with the matriarchate tribes of the Tulus and the Nayars of Kanara and Malabar becomes untenable by the mere fact that the accepted region for Kēraḷaputra also contained such matriarchate communities. Also, the assumption that the matriarchate system prevailed along the West Coast even in the days of Asōka is very difficult to substantiate. Moreover, even in the days when clear evidence for the existence of the matriarchate system in the West Coast becomes available, the people who came to observe this system were not named after it as a tribe or community.

The sequence in which the names occur in the rock-edict clearly points to the fact that Satiyaputa, like the other four names, was located only in South India.²¹ The Poona region where the Sātputes live at present, was definitely included in the empire of Asōka. Satiyaputa, on the other hand, was an independent country. Even the suggestion²² that the Sātputes

19 Ibid., pp. 411-12.

migrated at a later stage from their earlier abode in the south on the West Coast is not convincing in view of the improbability of the so-called immigrants retaining their tribal or national name which was completely lost upon the tribe or nation from which they thus migrated. Here again, only the close similarity between the names Satiyaputa and Sātpute has given birth to this theory.

Bühler does not follow up his suggestion that the Satiyaputa was probably the king of the Satvats with any explanations. He does not even say who the Satvats were and where they lived. The Satvats were an ancient tribe and find mention in the Vedic texts. The epic and Purāṇic traditions place them in the Mathura district. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther south because the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa describes²³ them as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla area i.e. beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by Bhōja kings.²⁴ The above location of the Satvats does not take them south enough to even remotely connect them with the independent South Indian kingdom of Satiyaputa.

The attempted identification of the Kōsar tribe with the

20. Ibid., p.414

21. vide, Ind.Ant., Vol.34 (1905), p.251

22. JBBRAS., Vol. XXI, p. 898.

23. Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14.3.

24. Ray Chaudhuri: Political History of India, 6th edn., p. 139.

Satiyaputa of the Asōkan edict is, as yet, the best conceived theory on the subject. References to the Kōsar in early Tamil literature as addicted to truth are clear and not very scanty and their close association with the Tamil country is also well borne out.²⁵

There are, however, genuine difficulties in endorsing the theory that the Satiyaputa and the 'Kōsar of the Kōngu Country' were identical. It is clear from passages in early Tamil literature that the Kōsar lived not only in the Kōngu country but also in some other parts of the Tamil land as well as outside its bounds and that the name Kōsar applied to the whole of this Kōsar tribe, wherever they lived, and not to any line of kings who ruled over them. The only instance in early Tamil literature connecting the Kōsar with the Kōngu country occurs in Silappadigāram²⁶ where the expression Kōng-ilāṇ-kōsar is employed. ilāṇ means 'young' or 'later' and thus the expression seems to suggest that the Kōsar were the inhabitants of some other region and that, at a later stage, they migrated to the Kōngu country.

On the other hand, when the references to the Kōsar in early Tamil literature are ~~examined~~ assembled in one place and

25 In view of the importance of the Kōsar to the early history of South Kanara, the relevant passages in early Tamil literature will be discussed in detail in the pages to come.

26 Silappadigāram, uraireru-katṭurai: 2

studied together, it becomes obvious that they, as a people, were well distributed into warrior groups which assisted the southern rulers in battle fields as mercenary troops. Their presence, in the early history of South India as revealed by early Tamil literature, in parts of the ancient Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and also in Tulu-nāḍu (i.e. the district of South Kanara) is easily discernible.²⁷ Indeed the connection of the Kōsar with the Tulu country appears, from these literary passages, to have been of a more long-standing and original nature.

In view of these facts, it is unlikely that the rock-edict would have mentioned a tribe which did not inhabit any one region but was constantly on the move. It is more unlikely that a part of the tribe living in the Koṅgu country, perhaps as the mercenaries of the Chōḷas, would have gained a mention in the rock-edict of Asōka. In their own homes and to their neighbours, they were known as the Kōsar. If the rock-edict did mean them, why were they not named as Kōsar, by their proper name, instead of as Satyaputra after one of their virtues?

Barnett's identification of Sātiyaputa with the forefathers of the Sātavāhanas of Andhra-dēśa fails owing to complete lack of evidence. The origin of the Sātavāhanas is

27 M.A. Durai Arangasami: Sāṅgākālach-chirappun-
peyargal, p. 276.

still a subject of controversy. His alternative suggestion that Sātiyaputa may represent the region around Mangalore is interesting though he does not adduce reasons for such an identification.

Vincent A. Smith was the first to suggest the identification of Asōka's Satiyaputa with the Tulu country i.e. the South Kanara district. "Very little can be said about the south-western kingdoms, known as Chēra, Kerala and Satiyaputra. The last-named is mentioned by Asōka only, and its exact position is unknown. But it must have adjoined Kerala; and since the Chandragiri river has always been regarded as the northern boundary of that province, the Satiyaputra kingdom should probably be identified with that portion of the Kōṅkans - or low lands between the Western Ghats and the sea - where the Tulu language is spoken, and of which Mangalore is the centre."²⁸ After defining the bounds of the Tulu country Smith continues - "The small area thus defined as occupied by the Tulu language seems to be admirably adopted to serve as the equivalent of Asoka's Satiyaputra. It adjoins Kerala, is the territory of a Dravidian people, and so completes the summary enumeration of the Dravidian nations given in Rock Edict II."²⁹ Even at that time, Smith, however, had struck a note of doubt - " . . . the proof of the

28. V.A. Smith: Early History of India, I edn., p. 340.

29. Ind. Ant., Vol. 34 (1905), p. 251.

suggested identity cannot be effected until it is shown that the name Satiyaputa is in fact connected with the Tuluva country, and at present such proof is lacking."

Smith's thought-provoking theory failed to gain any considerable ground chiefly because he himself, without as much as adducing any tangible reason for disowning his own Satiyaputa = Tuluva theory, deemed it fit to switch over to the Satyamangalam region in Coimbatore district as the modern representative of the ancient Satiyaputa. We have shown above that the Satiyaputa = Satyamangalam theory is wholly untenable. On the other hand, the Tuluva theory, originally contributed by Smith and considered a possibility by Barnett, presents itself as the best answer to the Satiyaputa problem for the following reasons.

Smith's claim that the identification of Satiyaputa with Tuluva completes the enumeration of the Dravidian nations of Asoka's times is indisputable. While Tambapanni covered Ceylon, Chodā and Pandiyā covered the eastern coast and the interiors of the Tamil country. Keralaputra covered the southern extremes of the West Coast. The picture of the extreme south, as detailed in the rock-edict would be complete with the inclusion of Tuluva or the South Kanara district. The existence of this tiny coastal strip as a separate political and linguistic entity from its earliest traceable historical moments does justify its inclusion in Asoka's list of inde-

pendent South Indian kingdoms. The only new and unidentified name being Satiyaputa, its identification with Tuluva ought to have exercised the minds of scholars, which, unfortunately, it has not.³⁰

The various theories quoted above were all built on the belief that Satiyaputa was either the Prākṛit form for Sanskrit Satyaputra or an expression meaning Satiya-putra = "Children of chaste women". It is, however, likely that, like the other four names of South Indian kingdoms, Satiyaputa was the long-standing proper name of a territory or a people. In view of this and in view of the fact that the Tuluva-part of the West Coast alone remains to be mentioned in order to complete the picture of independent South India in the days of Asōka, it is only proper that we search for any possible relationship between Satiyaputra and Tuluva. It may be pointed out in this connection that the word Satiya bears close resemblance to Sahya, the name of a part of the Western Ghāṭs bordering on Konkan, including Tuluva. It is possible that, either as a normal derivation or as a mistake, Sahya came to be written in the rock-edict as Satiya. It is true that the change from Sahya to Sahia > Sahiya > Satiya cannot be justified on the basis of any known rules of grammar. Yet, the

30 Even B.A. Saletore, the only scholar who has attempted to write a comprehensive history of Tuluva, summarily dismisses the identification of Satiyaputa with Tuluva. See Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 374.



utter incompatibility of the other theories based upon Saiya³¹ and Satī should help render this view a great ~~xxx~~ possibility.

It is well-known that while Malaya represented the range of Western Ghāṭs bordering on Kēraḷa, Sahya was the name of its counterpart to the north.³² The late work called Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa, which has now come to be appended to the Skandapurāṇa, definitely suggests, by giving the legendary history of Tuluva, that the Western Ghāṭs bordering on South Kanara had come to be particularly identified with the name Sahya. Again, though Sahyādrī as the name of a mountain range may have extended to the north of South Kanara, the Asōkan edict may have meant only that length of the range as borders on Tuluva for, north of the Tulu Country, the coast was most likely included in the vast Mauryan empire.³³ It has been shown that Pālī putta = Sanskrit putra at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe.'³⁴ Thus, if Satiyaputa could be accepted to have resulted from Sahyaputra > Sahiaputa > Sahiyaputa, we may conclude that the Satiyaputa of the rock edict stood for the Tulu country

31 In this context, the writing of the name Kēraḷa-putra as Kēṭalaputra in the Girnar and Kalsi versions of the rock-edict proves to be of guiding importance.

32 D.C. Sircar: Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 11, 12 and 23 note.

33 For a definition of the southern limits of Asōka's empire, see V.A. Smith: Asōka, the Buddhist Emperor of India, III edn., p. 80

and for the people who had that region for their home. The ethnic, political, cultural and linguistic individuality which the Tuluvas have maintained from early times is an important justification for this identification.

More information, though of an uncertain nature, on the history of South Kanara during and immediately following the Mauryan age is furnished by some poets of Saṅgam literature. It has been established on sound reasons that the Saṅgam age, to which belong the anthologies Narripai, Kurundogai, Aingurunūru, Padirruppattu, Paripādal, Kalittogai, Aganānūru, Puranānūru and Pattuppāṭṭu as also the well-known Tolkāppiyam, a comprehensive treatise on Tamil grammar, lasted during the first three or four centuries A.D.³⁵

Māmūlanār, a poet, most probably of the third century A.D., whose compositions have been included in the anthologies Aganānūru, Narripai and Kurundogai, says in one of his songs -³⁶

'meymmali perumpūi-chemmar-Kōsar

. Tulu-nāṣu'

'The Tulu country of the Kōsar who adorned their bodies with golden ornaments'.

This passage is of two-fold importance. It takes the word Tulu as applied to the region concerned and, perhaps, to the people

35 See A History of South India, pp. 110 ff.

36 Aganānūru : Agam 15.

who dwelt there and to the dialect which they spoke, to the early centuries of the Christian era. It also definitely states that the Kōsar were the inhabitants of the Tulu country. The Kōsar, as has been pointed out above, were a warrior tribe and a few passages in Sangam literature refer to their valour. One such from Aganānūru says-

'irumbiḍam paḍutta vaduvuḍai muḡattār
karuṅgaḷ-Kōsar'

'The black-eyed Kōsar whose faces bear marks of wounds inflicted by iron arms.'

Another passage from the Puranānūru reads-

'... ven-vēl
iḷam-pal-Kōsar viḷaṅḡu paḍai kaṇmā-
riḡaliṇar-eṇḡindav-aḡal-ilai murukkiṇ
perumarak-kambam'

'pillars of the murukku trees with their wide leaves at which many youthful Kōsar aim their shining spears to find the best marksman in their midst.'

We learn from Aganānūru that Chellūr, Niyamam, characterised by the sound of the roaring waves of the sea, and Podiyil

37 Ibid., 90

38 Puranānūru : Puraṇam 169, lines 8-11.

39 Agam 90

40 Agam 251

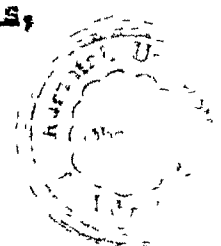
were places which belonged to the Kōsar. On the strength of Māmūlanār's statement, referred to above, that the Kōsar be-⁴¹longed to the Tulu country, it has been suggested elsewhere that these places, Chellūr, Niyamam and Podiyil, may have to be located in the Tulu country. It is, however, obvious, on the authority of the Saṅgam literature, that the Kōsar, besides inhabiting the Tulu Country, lived also in parts of the ancient Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. As has been suggested earlier, they may have migrated into the interiors of the Tamil country from Tuluva. The Maduraikkāñchi, an ancient Tamil work, refers to the Kōsar as nāṇmolik-kōsar i.e. 'the four-tongued Kōsar'. This has been taken to mean 'Kōsar who could speak four languages, Tulu, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil'.⁴² This may be interpreted to mean that the Kōsar, even when they disintegrated and settled down in different parts of South India, did not lose their identity immediately.

What is of topical interest to us at this stage is the mention of the Kōsar, in certain passages in Saṅgam literature, with reference to an invasion of the South by the Mauryas. The episode is referred to by Māmūlanār in two songs which have found their way into the Aganānūru. In view of their importance to the early history of Tuluva, they deserve to be discussed in some detail. The first song, in its relevant parts, reads -⁴³

41 Saṅgakālach-chirappup-peyargal, p. 277

42 P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar: History of the Tamils, p. 526.

43 Agam 251, lines 6.14



..... velkodit-
 tunaikāl-anna punaitērk-Kōsar
 tonmūd-ālatt-arumbapaip-podiyil
 innisai-murasan-kaḍipigutt-irāngat-
 temmunai-sidaitta nānrai Mōgūr
 paṇiyāmaiṇir-pagai-talai vanda
 mākeḷu-tānai Vamba Mōriyar
 punaitēr nēmiy-uruliya kuraitta
 vilāngu vell-aruviya varai-vāy'

'On the day of destruction in the battlefield,
 when the Kōsar, whose decorated and quick-
 wheeled chariots (flaw) the flags of victory,
 (beat) their melodious drums resounding sharply
 and at high pitch in their assembling spots under
 the big branches of old and well-spread-out
 banyan trees, as the neighbouring Mōriyar came
 with the great army against (the chieftain of)
 Mōgūr because of (his) insubordination, the
 wheels of their quick-wheeled chariots rolled,
 reducing (the heights of) the mountain pass
 with its silvery streams.'

44 This and all other translations of Tamil passages
 quoted in this Chapter are free renderings. For an ear-
 lier translation, from which I have chosen to differ on cer-
 tain points, see History of the Tamils, p. 520.

The second song, in its relevant parts, reads- 45

'olgiyan maḍa-mayil-olitta pīlī
vānpōl valviṛ-churri nōṇchilai-
yavvār viḷḷimbirk-amaiṇda novviyaṛ-
kanaikural-isaikkum viraiselar kaḍuṅgapai
murapmigu vaḍugar munṇura Mōriyar
tenṇisai māḍira munṇiya varavirku
viṇṇurav-ōṅgiya paṇiyirun-kunṇatt-
oṅgaḍir-ttīgiriṇ-uruliya kuṇaitta
varai'

'With the Vaḍugar, who excel in fighting, whose powerful bows are covered with the ~~fix~~ feathers shed by languid-looking and effeminate peacocks and whose strong arrows, capable of causing pain, when fitted to the sharp edges of such strong bows, fly fast with roaring sounds, preceding them, as the Mōriyar advanced on the mountain in the south, the rolling wheels (of their chariots), with bright spokes, reduced (the heights of) the sky-high and cold mountain'.

These two passages make it clear that the Kōsar were the main invaders and that the army of the Mōriyar formed the supporting rear guard. The first passage implies that the

Kōsar were aided in their expedition against the defiant chief of Mōgūr by the Mōriyar. Since this song as well as the other one, already referred to, which says that the Kōsar were the inhabitants of the Tulu country, were both composed by the poet Māmūlanār, it may be safely concluded that the Kōsar, who aided the Mōriya invasion, were the inhabitants of the Tulu country. The second passage also refers to the invasion of the South by the Mōriyar but their allies are herein called Vaḍugar. It will be reasonable to assume that the Vaḍugar of Māmūlanār's second passage were the same as the Kōsar of the first passage.⁴⁶ In this connection we may study the passage mavil-olitta pīli val-vir-curri i.e. 'covering their (i.e. the Vaḍugar's) strong bows with feathers shed by peacocks' occurring in the second passage against the same poet's description of Tulu-nāḍu as 'a country in whose forests the peacocks peck at the well-grown jack fruits' (pāgal-ārkaḷ paraikkat-pīli-ttōgai-kkāvīr-Rulu-nāḍu).⁴⁷

46 Vaḍugar (Kannada : Badagaru) means 'the northerners' and is used in Saṅgam literature to denote people who lived to the immediate north of the Tamils i.e. the Kannada, Tulu and Telugu people.

47 Aganānūru : Agam 15, lines 4-5. The description of the city of Mangalore as 'mavil-agavu-Maṅgalapuram' (Maṅgalapuram, where the peacocks dance) in a Pāṇḍyan copper-plate grant of the 8th century, discussed in Chapter III below, also shows that the Tamil poets were wont to think of the Tulu country in association with peacocks.

The reference to peacocks in these passages helps us to conclude that the Kōsar and the Vādugar were the inhabitants of the Tulu country and, hence, were one and the same.

To make these passages on Mauryan invasion of the South fit into the pages of known history is a difficult task. The first passage qualifies the Mōriyar with the adjective vamba.⁴⁸ Vambar means 'vile or insolent persons' or 'quarrelsome men' and, hence, is out of place in a passage which seeks to glorify the Maurya invasion. Vamba, therefore, appears to be a form of vambalar meaning 'neighbours, newcomers' or 'guests'.⁴⁸ It has been generally taken to mean 'the newly risen' or 'newly come' Mōriyar and as denoting the imperial Mauryas of Pāṭalīputra.⁴⁹ It is, however, very difficult to believe that the Mauryas indulged in military exploits so far in the south even when their political power was at its nascent stage.

A more apt interpretation of the phrase vamba-Mōriyar would be 'the neighbouring Mōriyar'. The coastal region to the north of the Tulu country was included in the vast Mauryan empire and, perhaps, formed part of the Kōṅkapa⁵⁰ province under

48 M. Winslow: Tamil & English Dictionary, q.v.

49 See A History of South India, pp. 85 f.

50 The territorial definition of ancient Kōṅkapa is a knotty problem. The plural form Kōṅkapāshu, occurring in the Aihole inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol.VIII, p. 242, line 10) of Pulakēsin II (609/10-642 A.D.) reminds one of the ancient name Sapta-Kōṅkapa. This term denotes the whole strip of land lying

the sway of the scions of the imperial Maurya dynasty. This latter surmise is supported by the existence of the Mauryas in the Konkan,

~~XXXX~~ between the Western Ghāts and the Arabian Sea. According to Wilson (See Asiatic Researchs, Vol. XV, p. 47, note) the seven Konkans were Kēraḷa, Tuluva, Gōvarāshṭra (i.e. modern Goa), the Konkan proper, Karahāṭaka, Barālāṭṭā and Barbara. Gundert (Malayālam Dictionary, s.v. Koṅgaṇam) gives the following verse-

Kārāṭam cha Virāṭam cha Mārāṭam Koṅkaṇam tathā |

Havyagaṃ Tanjavam ch=aiya Kēraḷam ch=ēti sapṭakam ||

Fleet (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part II, Dynasties of the Kanarase Districts, p. 282, note 5), who acknowledges the historicity of Sapta - Konkana, includes the following divisions in its definition - (1) Travancore and Cochin; (2) Malabār; (3) South Kanara; (4) North Kanara; (5) Goa; (6) Ratnagiri; and (7) Kolābā, Thāṇa and Surat. In the verse quoted above Havyaga is the same as Haive, a division made up of the southern parts of the North Kanara Dt. In view of this, Konkana proper may be defined so as to have included, besides the southern coastal districts of Mahārāshṭra, Goa and also the northern parts of the North Kanara district in those ancient times. The southern part of that district, which comes to be called the Haive division in later historical periods, appears to have been under the sway of a family of local chiefs in the early centuries of the Christian era. To this family may have belonged a certain king by the name of Nannan whose history will be dealt with in the pages to come. It will be well to remember that in the eleventh century

as a ruling family, in the sixth century A.D., when they were finally destroyed by Chālukya Kīrttivarman (566/7-597/8 A.D.) of Bādāmi.⁵¹ Vamba-Mōriyar may, therefore, refer to the Maruyan rulers of the Kōṅkapa province who were, geographically, the northern neighbours of the Kōsar of Tulu-nādu.

The death of Asōka sounded the death-knell for his empire. Yet, vestiges of the imperial power did survive for over five decades after his death. In the course of the empire-wide confusion which must have resulted from the removal of Asōka, the Kōṅkapa province may have become an independent Maurya kingdom interested in the political developments in the neighbouring kingdoms to their south. It is otherwise difficult to believe that either before or during or after the reign of Asōka, the Mauryas, with the nucleus of their political power still at Magadha, would have exerted themselves in subduing the chieftain of a principality which does not render itself even to positive identification. I, therefore, hold that the Vamba-Mōriyar were the Mauryas of Kōṅkapa who rose to independent political power sometime after the death of Asōka and continued to rule in the Kōṅkapa region till their defeat by Kīrttivarman in the sixth century A.D.

From the study of the above passages, it may be concluded that the Mōriyar invaded Mōgūr, not on their own but as the

A.D., Goa and its surrounding regions were known by the name of Kōṅkapa-900 (Fleet : DKD, p. 566)

allies of the Kōsar of Tuḷu-nāḍu whose suzerainty the chief-
tain of Mōgūr appears to have contested. Mōgūr, therefore, may
be deemed to have been a tiny principality bordering on Tuḷu-
nāḍu. Since the poems refer to the crossing of a mountain
pass by the chariots of the Kōsar and the Mōriyar, Mōgūr was,
in all probability, a kingdom on the eastern slopes or at the
eastern foot of the Western Ghāts i.e. in the north-western ex-
tremes of the Tamil country.

The results of the Kōsar-Mōriyar invasion of Mōgūr are
nowhere mentioned. But, during what may be discerned as the
chronologically subsequent stage in South Indian history, as
seen through Saṅgam literature, the Kōsar are found to be the
enemies of the king of Tuḷuva and friends of Mōgūr !

This king of Tuḷuva was known by the name of Nannan
and figures in quite a few compositions assignable to the
Saṅgam age. The poet Māmūlanār, in the same poem ⁵² in which

52 Aganānūru : Agam, 15. The text, in its relevant
parts, reads -

..... Tuḷu-nāḍi-anna
varuṇagai vambalart-tāngum paṇbi-
cherinda Chērich-Chemmal
Chūli-yānaich-chudarpūp Nannan'

'Nannan, wearing lustrous ornaments and with his
royal elephant, the great king of the country
which is renowned for its quality of sustaining
its indigent neighbours i.e. the Tuḷu country.'

he associates the Kōsar with Tulu-nāḍu, says that Nannan was the 'great king of the country which was firm in its quality of sustaining indigent neighbours'. Since we learn from a few other songs⁵³ that the Kōsar assisted a Tamil chieftain in his war against Nannan and that they also fought against him on their own, as will be shown below, it may be suggested that Nannan invaded the Tulu country, drove the Kōsars out and made it his own. From where did this Nannan come and occupy the Tulu country? Pālaipāḍiya Peruṅgaḍuṅgō, a Saṅgam poet, in one of his songs,⁵⁴ says -

'ponṇaḍu Koṅkāna Nannan nannāṭṭu

Elir-kunram'

55

'The Elil hill of the good country of Nannan, the gold-producing Koṅkāna'.

We have already stated that Koṅkāna, as a territorial entity, does not lend itself to easy definition and that, in ancient times, the whole of the West Coast was divided into seven divisions, all of them known by the common name of Koṅkāna. It will be seen from what follows that the conquest of Tuluva brought Nannan into close contact with the Tamil rulers. Prior to his Tuluva occupation, Nannan, therefore, may have been ruling over a small kingdom to the south of the Koṅkāna kingdom

53 Aganānūru : Agam 113, 208; Kurundogai : 73, 292.

54 Narrinai : 391, lines 6-7.

of the Mauryas and to the north of Tuluva i.e. in the southern parts of the North Kanara district roughly corresponding to Havyaga or the Haive division. At any rate, neither was Nannan the ruler of the Mauryan Konkana nor did he belong dynastically to the Mauryan stock; or else, the Saṅgam poets would not have ignored these important points. It may be that his frequent ^{was} ~~was~~ with the tiny kingdoms to his immediate south and south-east were justified by the fact that the Mauryan power to his north was more formidable and friendly as against the formers.

References to Nannan in Saṅgam literature illustrate his ambitious character and his successful career. After his occupation of Tulu-nāḍu, Nannan appears to have turned his attention to his south. He conquered and annexed Pūli-nāḍu, probably a small territory on the West Coast adjoining the Tulu country and, as will be seen subsequently, included in the Chēra kingdom. The Ēlir-kunṇam, which is stated in the passage quoted above to be in the 'good country of Nannan', was, in all probability, situated in this Pūli-nāḍu. With the conquest of Tuluva and Pūli-nāḍu, the road to the ancient Tamil kingdoms lay open before the enterprising Nannan.

Saṅgam poets refer to a number of battles in which Nannan fought against one Tamil king or another. One battle against

55 The Ēlil hill, also known as Ēlil-malai and Sapta-saila, is the Mount D'Ely of the medieval geographers and is about 16 miles to the north of Cannanore in Kerala State.

56 Attempts so far made at reducing Saṅgam literature

Palaiyan, perhaps a commander of the Chōla forces⁵⁷ and ruler⁵⁸ of Mōgūr, is described as follows-

'Nannan Errai narumpūn-Atti
tunnarun-kaḍuntirar-Kaṅkan Kaṭṭi
ponnapi val-vir-Punruraiy-enr-ang-
anr-avar kuḷiya vaḷapparun-kattūrp-
parundupaḍan-nappin-Palaiyan nāttena'⁵⁹

'There, on that day (of battle) Palaiyan, after making (the battle-field) the grave (for the armies) of Nannan, Errai, Atti, with perfume applied, Kaṅkan, the zealous fighter, Kaṭṭi and the gold-ornamented Punrurai with his strong bow, and after giving them (i.e. the dead) as prey for the hawks, himself was killed (in battle).'

This passage thus presents Nannan at the head of a confederacy, the other members of which were probably petty chief-

into history have produced, at the hands of various scholars, results which are mutually contradictory. The narration which follows is the result of my study of Saṅgam literature with reference to the history of Tuluva.

57 See Sivaraja Pillai; The Chronology of the Early Tamils: pp. 76 ff.

58 The Maduraikkāṇchi (lines 507-509) says -

'maḷaiy-olukk-arāap-pilaiya vilaiyut-
Palaiyan Mōgūr-avaivagam viḷaṅga
nānmolik-Kōsar viḷaṅgiy-anna

tains of the Tamil country. It is not known if Nannan and his allies fought as the defenders or were jointly invading the Chōla territory. In view of Palaiyan's death in the battle, victory may have rested with Nannan and his allies.

The fact that Nannan could muster the assistance of five Tamil chieftains suggests his immense strength and resources. Nannan also invaded Pullunādu, which has been identified elsewhere⁶⁰ with the southern portion of the Coimbatore district. Nannan's chief antagonist in this war was one Āy Eyinan⁶¹ who, it has been suggested⁶², may have been a subordinate of the then Chōla king Velīyan Vēṇmān. The poet Parapar gives a graphic account of this encounter, in which Nannan's triumph was largely due to his general Miñili -

..... kodittērp-

polampūn Nannan Pullu-nādu kadind-ena

vāl-isai marugir-Pāliy-āṅg-a-

n-añjal-enrav-Āy-Eyina-

n-igaladu karpin Miñiliy-odu takkit-tan-

n-uyir koduttanane'

'As the four-tongued Kōsar appeared in the assembly place of Palaiyan's Mōgūr, where the crops never fail because the rains never cease.' This Palaiyan was, perhaps, a descendant of that chief of Mōgūr who had to face the joint Kōsar-Mōraiyan invasion. It is, however, not known if the Kōsar assisted Palaiyan in this battle.

59 Aganānuru : Agam, 44, lines 7-11.

60 The Chronology of the Early Tamils, p. 78.

'On the bejewelled Nannan, with his bannered chariot, invading Pullunādu, Ay Eyinan the fierce, fought at Pāli (which was) bewitched by the music of the Yāl, with Miñili, whose virtue was to kill his enemies, and gave up his life.'

Ay Eyinan's valiant death at the hands of Miñili is alluded to
63
by the same poet in another of his songs -

'Velivan Vēpmān Ay-Eyina-
n-aliyiyal vāḷkkaip-Pālip-parandalai-
y-ilaiy-ani yānaiy-iyarēr Miñiliy-odu
nappagalurra cheruvir-pupkūra-
d-aiyān mayāngamar vīṇḍ-ena'

'In the battle field at Pāli, (which is) by nature liberal in giving away its riches, Ay Eyinan, (the subordinate ?) of Velivan Vēpmān, fought with Miñili, who was like a bejewelled elephant, in the encounter which occurred at

61. Ibid., pp. 78-79. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (The Re-
ginnings of South Indian History, p. 198), however, says he was
the commander-in-chief of the Chēra king.

62 Aganānūru : Agam 396, lines 1-6

63 Aganānūru : Agam 208, lines 5-9.

midday and, causing great confusion (in enemy ranks) with his glittering sword, himself fell (in the battle).'

64

In yet another song Parapar gives the following account of Nannan's war against Puḷḷunāḍu -

. Nannan Pāli-
y-ūṭṭaru-marabiṇ-aṇḍuvaru pēyk-
kūṭṭ-ēdir-konḍa vāy-mōḷi Nīmili
puḷḷiṅk-ēmam-āḍiya perum-payar
veḷḷatt-āṇaiy-adigaṅ konṇu-van-
d-olvāl-amalaiy-āḍiya nāl'

65

'That day when the adigaṅ met Nīmili', with his fearful army of fiends (drawn) from the subjects of the ancient Pāli of Nannan, having killed and taken his celebrated and huge elephant, which had caused bewilderment at Puḷḷu, they fought noisily with their glittering swords.'

The first two passages make it clear that though Nannan's invasion was of Puḷḷu-nāḍu, the battle alluded to was fought at Pāli. Pāli was not in the invaded territory but was an impor-

64 Aganānūru : Agam 152, lines 9-14.

65 Nīmili is obviously a mistake for Miñili, the name as it occurs in the other two passages quoted.

tant fort in the kingdom of Nannan himself. Parapar says ⁶⁶

'Nannan-udiyā-arūṅaḍip-Pālit-
tonmudir vēlir-ōmbinar vaitta
pan'

'The gold kept in the well protected Pāli of
Nannan-udiyā, under the protection of the
vēlir (i.e. petty chieftains) of old and
ancient (families).'

The above passages may, therefore, be interpreted to mean that Nannan raided Pullu-nāḍu and that, as a measure of retaliation, his own kingdom was subjected to invasion. Nannan does not appear to have gained Pullu-nāḍu but, at the same time, he appears to have successfully warded off the retaliatory raids. Of his enemies, Āy Eyinaṅ was, perhaps, the chief of Pullu-nāḍu and the Adigar may have been his subjects.

67

Parapar also speaks of the peacocks dancing joyously in the hill of Pāli, situated in the long mountain range of Ēlil, the country of Nannan whose whizzing javelin pierced through and broke the resistance of his enemy Pindaṅ. We are not told who this Pindaṅ was but, most likely, he was one of the petty chieftains of the Tamil country.

66 Aganānūru : Agam 258, lines 1-3

67 Aganānūru : Agam 152, lines 9-14

In addition to his high renown as a great warrior, Nannan also gained the ungainly epithet of per-kolai-purinda Nannan, 'Nannan, the woman-killer'. The incident which brought Nannan this ill-fame is narrated⁶⁸ by Parānar in the following lines-

'manniya sennay-onndal-arivai
punararn pasungāy tinradan-rappār-
k-onhadirr-onhadu kalir-od-avanirai
ponsei-pāvai kodupparun-kollān
perkolai purinda Nannan'

'Nannan, who killed a damsel, with beautiful ^eeyebrows who had gone to the river for a bath, for the guilt of having eaten an unripe fruit, (which had fallen from a tree in his garden and was) carried away by the currents, even though he was offered eighty one male elephants and a statue of her weight in gold (as compensation).'

We ~~too~~ also learn that at the end of battles, Nannan, as the victor, was merciless towards his vanquished foes. Parānar says⁶⁹ in this connection, that Nannan, with his javelin held

68 - Kurundogai: 292, lines 1-5

69 - Narrirai: 270, lines 7-10

aloft, made many enemy kings, endowed with magnificent horses, flee from the battle-fields and bound their elephants with ropes made out of the hair locks of the captive ~~xxx~~ women belonging to his vanquished enemies.

We had earlier suggested that Nannan appears to have deprived the Kōsar of their hold on Tulu-nādu. This naturally earned for him the enmity of this war-like people. Nannan appears to have had a difficult time warding off the retaliatory raids of the Kōsar on his territory. Parapar says-

..... Nannan
naru-mā konru nāttir-pōgiya-
x-onru-mollik-Kōsar'

'The Kōsar who killed the famed elephant of Nannan and entered his country.'

Nannan, however, appears to have cleared his country of the invading Kōsar for, when he was drawn into his final battle by his Chēra adversary, he was still in possession of his territories.

It has earlier been pointed out that Nannan had taken Pūli-nādu by his war against the Chēra armies. The Chēra king

70 Kurundogai : 73, lines 2-4

71 If Āy Eyinan's identification with the Chēra commander-in-chief is accepted, it follows that the battle of Vāgai was not the first major war of the Chēras against Nannan.

Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēral met Nannan in a great battle at Vāgai with a view to regaining the lost territory. The poet Kallāḍanār describes⁷² the battle and its results in these terms.

! Vāgaip-perunduraich-cheruvir-
polambūn Nannan porudu kaḷatt-oliya
valampadu korran tanda vāyvāt-
Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēra-
l-ilanda nāḍu tand-anna'

'In the battle at the big port-town of Vāgai, the bejewelled Nannan having perished in the battle field, the great victory of the powerful Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēral gave him back his lost nāḍu (i.e. Pūli-nāḍu).'

Thus ended the crowded chapter of Nannan's life. From the many references to this valiant ruler in Saṅgam literature we gather that, at the zenith of his power, he was the master of Konkapa (i.e. the southern parts of the North Kanara District), Tuluva (i.e. the district of South Kanara), Pūli-nāḍu (perhaps a small Coastal tract to the immediate south of Tuluva) and even the north-western frontier of the Tamil country. He was⁷³

72 Aganānūru : Agam 199, lines 19-23

73 Krishnaswami Aiyangar: The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 128.

not merely an ambitious conqueror and an oppressor of his enemies, but was munificent in giving away his wealth to the needy.

The date of Nannan is impossible to fix. All that can be ventured at this stage of our knowledge of the history of South India is that Nannan may have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.⁷⁴

74 Sivaraja Pillai creates two Nannan's and assigns Nannan I, the enemy of Palaiyan and Pinḍan and the leader of the confederacy of Errai, Atti, Kaṅkan and Kaṭṭi, to the second, and Nannan II, who, according to him, may have been the grandson of Nannan I and who was killed by the Chēra Nārmudich-Chāral, to the fifth generations of Saṅgam literature. According to Pillai, the second and the fifth generations lasted from 25 B.C. to 1 A.D. and from 50 A.D. to 75 A.D. respectively. But, while the historical gleanings that have been gathered from the works of the Saṅgam age are indeed genuine, the historical and chronological sequence that has been created for those points of history by various scholars is not, in the least, directly or indirectly, suggested by the works themselves. Pillai (*ibid.*, pp. 16-17) himself says - "... the various poems have been collected and arranged on principles of pure literary form and theme by a late redactor This literary arrangement has distorted the chronology of the works in the most lamentable manner imaginable. The whole mass has been thus rendered unfit for immediate historical handling." In view of this, it is not advisable to assign the numerous kings and chieftains, figuring

The end of the brilliant career of Nannan leaves Tuluva once again in complete historical darkness until we move down to the fifth century A.D., when we again come across an evidence of uncertain nature in the Halimidi Kammada inscription of the Kadamba king Kakustha (c. 430-450 A.D.). In between the death of Nannan and the rise of the early Kadambas, Tuluva may have remained in the possession of Nannan's unknown successors or may have become independent.

in the Saṅgam works, to any one of the ten generations and then to assign a period of twenty-five years to each generation starting from 50 B.C., as has been done by Pillai, especially when epigraphical and other historical evidence in support of such hypotheses is completely lacking. When the history of the extreme South becomes clear with the appearance of historical inscriptions in about the sixth century A.D., the Saṅgam age finds no mention indicating thereby that it had by then become old and forgotten. Nannan of Tulu-nādu is found completely ignored in the local legends of Tuluva itself like the Sahyādri-kāṇḍa and the Grāmapaddhati which commence their incoherent historical accounts of the region from the rise of the early Kadambas in the fourth century A.D. In view of all these facts I have confined myself to the uncommitting statement that Nannan, like all the other kings and chieftains who figure in the Tamil works of the Saṅgam age, appears to have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.

Before entering into a discussion on the Halmiḍi inscription and its relevance to the history of South Kanara, we may pause to examine two points which may have a bearing on Tuluva though not on its history.

Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of about the middle of the second century A.D., mentions, among the inland towns of the pirates, Olokhoira.⁷⁵ Khoira being equal to khēda, it has been suggested elsewhere⁷⁶ that Ptolemy's Olokhoira is to be identified with Ālvakhēda, which is one of the names given to South Kanara district in historical times. The earliest epigraphical reference to this region as Ālvakhēda occurs in an inscription⁷⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Prabhūtavārsha Govinda III (A.D. 792-814) from Māvālī, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district, Mysore State, wherein it is referred to as a six thousand division. If this identification of Ptolemy's Olokhoira with Ālvakhēda is accepted, and the identification is no doubt convincing, it becomes a matter of interest that Ālva=Āluva=Ālupa as the name of a country or a people or a dynasty existed even as early as the middle of the second century A.D.

The records of the Sātavāhanas, who succeeded to the south-western possessions of the Mauryan empire do not make

75 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 367

76 Lewis Rice : Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions, p. 137; Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 56.

77 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

any direct references to Tuluva. In the Nasik cave inscription⁷⁸ of their most powerful monarch Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who held sway over an extensive empire in the first quarter of the second century A.D., a claim is made in a conventional rather than historical vein, that he ruled over even the Sahya and Malaya mountains. It is, however, not known if Sahya in this instance was meant to include the Tulu country too.

The middle of the fourth century A.D. saw the advent of Mayūrasarṃma (or Ovarṃma) as the ruler of the Kadamba-maṇḍala. No historical evidence has come down to us which categorically proves that the Tulu country was, at any time during the existence of the early Kadambas as a ruling power, from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century A.D., under Kadamba suzerainty. Though the Chandravallī Prākṛit inscription⁷⁹ of Mayūravarṃma does not include the Tulu country in the long list of his conquests, local traditions of the Brahmins and the Jains of South Kanara assert that Mayūravarṃma was one of the earliest rulers of Tuluva. Buchanan, who has recorded this tradition,⁸⁰ quotes the Jains as holding that Mayūravarṃma lived at Bārakūru and governed all Tuluva without any superior. Though the dates given by these traditional accounts for this Kadamba ruler as well as for other kings whom they remember are no more historical than the creation of the Western Coastal tract by

78 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 2.

79 ARMAD., 1929, p. 50.

Parasurāma, Mayūravarmā's association with Tuluva as its ruler may be considered a historical fact. The possible connection between the Kadambas and Ālupas, indicated in the Halmiḍi inscription,⁸¹ lends support to this suggestion. The silence of the Chandraṃḍi inscription in this regard may be either because the conquest of Tuluva was not considered to be as important an achievement as the other ones or because Tuluva was conquered at a date subsequent to the writing of the inscription itself. The claim that Mayūravarmā lived at ~~xx~~ and ruled from Bārakūru may merely mean that his representative in Tuluva had his headquarters at that port-city.

The claim which a later tradition, as narrated, for instance, in a Tālagunda inscription⁸² of Hoysala Vīra Ballāla II (1173-1220 A.D.), makes for the mythological hero Mukṛṇḍa⁸³ or Tīlōchana Kadamba that he induced thirtytwo Brāhmaṇa families from Ahicchhatra-agrahāra in the north to move down to the south and established them in the great agrahāra of Sthāpugūḍha (i.e. modern Tālagunda, the find-spot of the inscription) is made for Mayūravarmā himself with reference to Tuluva in the Sahyādri-kāṇḍa⁸³ which says

⁸⁴
Mayūra-nāma nripatir-Hāmāṅgada-kumārakah |

81 ARMAD, 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.

82 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Sk. 126.

83 Sahyādri-kāṇḍa (ed. by J. Gerson Da Cunha, Bombay, 1877), Chapter 8, verses 2-4.

84 Hāmāṅgada does not appear in any historical document

Ahikshētra-sthitān viprān āgatān dvija-puṅgavān ||
sa-putra-pautra-sahitān sāmūjya vividhān nripaṇ ||
prasādayitvā tān viprān dhana-satkāra-bhōjanaiḥ ||
agrahārān chakār āsau dvātrīṃśad-grāma-bhēdataḥ ||
tatra tatra dvija-varān sthāpayāmāsa bhūpatīḥ ||

These stanzas proclaim that Mayūra, son of Hēmāṅgada, worshipped the many Brāhmaṇas who had come from Ahikshētra with their sons and grandsons, and after pleasing them with gifts of wealth etc., created thirtytwo agrahāras in as many villages and settled them. The Sahyādri-kāṇḍa continues to say that in course of time Mayūravarṃma, seeing the whole world in the grip of Kali, placed his kingdom in the care of his ministers and went away for doing ~~tapas~~ tapas, after nominating his infant son Chandrāṅgada as his successor. The import of the Brāhmaṇas into the south from Ahichch^ah^atra, Hēmāṅgada and Chandrāṅgada being the father and son respectively of Mayūravarṃma and the Kadamba monarch's abdication of his hard-earned throne are all points which stand unsupported by early historical evidence, and, therefore, deserve to be dismissed as concoctions of a later period. The association of Mayūravarṃma with Tuluva may at best be extended to mean that he and the other historical personages who succeeded him and each other in the early Kadamba line were, to an unknown extent, masters of the Tulu^a country.

and hence is obviously a fictitious name. Lewis Rice (Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions, p. 25) makes one Chandravarmma II the father of Mayūravarṃma. Neither does this name deserve to be considered as historical.

85

It is in this context that the Halmiḍi Kannaḍa inscription of Kākusthavarmma (430-450 A.D.), the great-grandson of Mayūra-varmma, gains in importance for, if the interpretation of its contents made by the Mysore Archaeological Department are to be accepted, it becomes apparent that the king of the Aḷapa-gaṇa = Āḷapas, Paśupati by name, was a feudatory of the Kadamba king. The find-spot of the inscription, Halmiḍi, is a village about seven miles north-north-west of Bēlūr close to the boundary line of the Belur and Chikmagalur Taluks, the western boundaries of both of which run in common with a part of the eastern boundary of the South Kanara district.

The contents, in brief, of the Halmiḍi record, which is incidentally, the earliest Kannaḍa inscription so far discovered, are as follows: During the reign of king Kākustha, Mṛigēśa and Nāga, (the governors ?) of Naridāviḷe-nāḍu, made a grant for military service, of the villages Palmaḍi and Mūḷivaḷḷi, to Viḷa Arasa of Saḷbaṅga, the beloved son of Ella Bhaṭari who, in the presence of the heroic men of the Sēndraka and Bāṇa countries, fought the Kēkayas and Pallavas, pierced them and (thus) raced to victory at the word of Paśupati, who was like a Paśupati to the Aḷapa-gaṇa, who was the moon to the spotless firmament called Bhaṭarikula and who was full of heroism and action in slaying his enemies in their hundreds in the many battle-fields of Dakshipāpatha.

86

85 ARMAD., 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.

86 This is an extract of contents of the record as given in the pages of the Annual Report referred to above. The inscription is much worn out and not all the readings given in the Annual

It has been suggested that Aḷapa is the same as Āḷupa, the name of the dynasty which ruled over the greater part of South Kanara at least from the middle of the seventh century, and that Paśupati, the chief of the Aḷapa-gaṇa, was the then ruler of the country of the Āḷupas. As a dynastic name it occurs most often as Āḷupa, sometimes as Āḷuva and twice, in the Aihole inscription⁸⁸ of the Puḷakēśin II and the Mārutūru grant of the 7th century⁸⁹ as Āḷuka. But in the Halmiḍi inscription we find the two most persistent vowels in the dynastic name, initial Ā and medial u both changed to A. This, however, should not be a serious impediment to the equation of Aḷapa to Āḷupa because the very etymology of the term Āḷupa is still a matter of controversy.

The Halmiḍi record eulogises Paśupati as Bhaṭari-kul-āmaḷa-vyōma-tār-ādhināthan i.e. 'the moon in the spotless firmament of the Bhaṭari-kula'. This epithet would make Paśupati a member of the Bhaṭari family, a name which is not applied to the Āḷupas by any other source. If Paśupati is to be accepted as an Āḷupa king, it will have to be conceded that, by the time the Āḷupas again enter into historical limelight in the middle of the seventh century, their connection with the Bhaṭari-kula had come to be forgotten.

Elḷa-Bhaṭari and his son Viḷa Arasa were probably related

Report (p. 78) are convincing, especially in the case of the first few and the last few lines. Any improvements in the readings, however, will not change the contents, as given in the Report, to any considerable degree.

87 ARMAD., 1936, p. 79.

88 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII.

89 Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No.6.

in some way to Paśupati as is evidenced by the term Bhaṭari appended to the father's name. Vija Arasa is described in the record as belonging to Salbaṅga which has been identified⁹⁰ with a village of that name situated to the north of Shimoga. It will be shown in the next Chapter that parts of the Shimoga district fell within the territorial possessions of the early Ālupas. The association of Vija Arasa with Salbaṅga and the association of Paśupati, the chief of Ālapa-gaṇa, with the Bhaṭari-kula thus lend support to some extent for the equation of Ālpa to Ālupa.

The Sēndraka country probably included⁹¹ the western part of the Shimoga district and also portions of North Kanara and was thus adjacent to South Kanara. Naridāville-nāḍu and the other places mentioned in the inscription, namely Palmaḍi (s.a. Halmiḍi, the find-spot of the inscription), Mūlivaḷḷi, etc. were all situated in the Hassan district which neighbours on the district of South Kanara. It will be shown in the next Chapter that the early Ālupas, i.e., Āluvarasa I and his successors, occupied positions of importance outside the Tuluva under the imperial houses of Vātāpi and Mānyakhēṭa even as Paśupati did under the Kādāmbas of Banavāsī. The geographical proximity of the place⁴ named to South Kanara and the historical analogy of the careers of Paśupati and the early Ālupas strengthen the identification of Paśupati as an Ālupa ruler.

It may, however, be argued that the name Paśupati is not found given to any other Ālupa king in the long history of that dynasty. This objection is effectively countered by the fact that

90 ARMAD., 1936, p. 81.

91 Ibid., p. 79.

names such as Rapaśāgara, Chitravāhana and Pṛithivīśāgara, given to the early Ālupa rulers do not at all repeat themselves in the later history of this dynasty.

The religion of the early Ālupas was Śaivism and their inscriptions clearly show that the early rulers did much to maintain and improve the Śāmbhukallu temple in their Capital Udayapura. In this light also, Paśupati as the name of an Ālupa ruler sounds convincing.

92

An inscription in Sanskrit, palaeographically assignable to the period of Kadaṃba Kākusthavarmma, from Tālagunda itself, speaks of a Paśupati, his gifts and his prowess in battles in the South. This inscription also refers to one Kākustha, an ornament to the Bhaṭṭari-vaṃsa, as the son of Lakshmi, a Kadaṃba princess. Since the inscription is fragmentary, it is not possible to state definitely the relationship that subsisted between Paśupati on the one hand and Kākustha-Bhaṭṭari and his mother Lakshmi on the other. From the sequence of occurrence of the names in the available text of the inscription it may, however, be suggested that Paśupati, in all probability, was the husband of Lakshmi and father of Kākustha. The provenance and palaeography of the inscription as well as the reference to the Bhaṭṭarivaṃsa render the identification of the Paśupati of this record with his namesake in the Halmidi inscription a great possibility.

92 ARMAD., 1911, p. 33 and plate.

93 Ibid., 1936, p. 78.

Another inscription⁹⁴ from Tālagunda, of the time of Kākusthavarmma and his son Śāntivarmma, states that the former caused the expansion of the royal families of the Guptas and others by means⁹⁵ of his daughters. In view of this, it has been suggested that Pasupati was one of the rulers to whom Kākusthavarmma gave away one of his daughters, Lakshmi, in marriage. If this view is accepted, it will not be the only instance of a feudatory Ālupa ruler contracting matrimonial alliance with the house of his suzerain for, as is revealed by the Shiggaon plates⁹⁶ of Chālukya Vijayāditya (696-733/34 A.D.), the queen of Chitravāhana, an early Ālupa king, was Kumkumadevī, the sister of the emperor Vijayāditya.

Thus, if Pasupati is taken for an Ālupa king, the Tālagunda inscription would give us the name of his son, and, perhaps, successor i.e. Kākustha-Bhaṭāri. The Tālagunda record eulogises Kākustha-Bhaṭāri in glowing terms. He was the receiver of blessings from brāhmanas who had been liberally rewarded by him in numerous sacrifices; he became the leader of ten mandalikas with control over the customs duties and also the chief among the wise (daśa-mandalikēśu nāvakatyaṁ saha sulkēna cha bōdhinam=avāpya). This inscription further states that Kākustha-Bhaṭāri pleased his master (svāmin), the king (kṣhitipa), by his modesty and also by the additions he made to

94 Ep.Ind., Vol.VIII, pp.33, line 12 and 36, verse 31. The editor ascribes this important record to the reign of Kākusthavarman. For a paper which proves this inscription to have belonged to the times of Kākusthavarman as well as his son Śāntivarman, see Journal of Indian History (Trivandrum), Vol.XXVII, pp.161 ff.

95 ARMAD., 1936, p. 78.

96 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXII, pp. 317 ff. and plates.

the royal treasury. The king who is thus referred to as the master of Kākustha Bhaṭṭāri undoubtedly belonged to the Kadamba house and was either Kākusthavarmma himself or his immediate successor Śānti-varmma (450-475 A.D.)

In the second half of the sixth century, Kadamba supremacy in the Deccan was irretrievably broken by the might of the Bādāmi Chālukya ruler Kīrttivarman I (566/7-597/8 A.D.). From then onwards, though the Kadambas continued their lingering existence till the middle of the seventh century, they had become feudatories of the Chālukyas and were shorn of all their imperial possessions.⁹⁷

We do not know for how long Kadamba rule over the Tulu country, established by Mayūravarmma and spoken of in the Sahyādrikāṇḍa and maintained by Kākusthavarmma as suggested by our understanding of the Halmiḍi and Tālagunda inscriptions, continued after the reign of the latter Kadamba king. We do know this much that the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁹⁸ of Maṅgalēśa, while claiming that Kīrttivarman conquered Vaijayantī (i.e. Banavāsi, the capital city of the Kadambas), also claims that he subdued the Āluka (i.e. the Ālupa king of South Kanara) implying that Tuluva was at that time under the sway of the Ālupas. This takes us to the next Chapter which deals with the history of the Early Ālupas.

97 A History of South India, II edn., p. 107.

98 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 7.

Before turning our attention to the early Ālupas it may be well to assemble hereunder the few names which have been shown above to be associated with the Tulu country.

Saṅgam Age (First three centuries of the Christian era):

Kōsar (a tribe which inhabited the Tulu country)

⋮

Nannan (a ruler of Koṅkana, i.e. the southern parts of North Kanara, who occupied Tuluva, probably after driving out the Kōsar.)

Kadamba dynasty

Mayūrasarṃma (345-370 A.D.)

⋮

Kākusthavarṃma (430-450 A.D.)

|

Alapa = Ālupa

Lakshmi - married to Pasupati

|

Kākustha-Bhaṭāri

Elia-Bhaṭāri and Vija-Arasa who are mentioned in the Halṃiḍi inscription appear to have been related in some way to the Alapa = Ālupa house in view of the family name Bhaṭāri with which both Pasupati and Elia are associated.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EARLY ALUPAS

The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, already referred to, of the Bādāmi Chālukya king Maṅgaḷēśa (597/8-609/10 A.D.), dated in 602 A.D., states that his predecessor and elder brother Puru-Rapaparākrama (i.e. Kīrttivarman I who ruled from 566/7 A.D. to 597/8 A.D.) conquered, besides many other countries, Āḷuka and Vaijayantī. In the course of editing this important record, Fleet observed¹ that Āḷuka 'may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in early times were powerful in the more western parts of the country that became included in the Chalukya dominions.' Fleet based his above interpretation on the fact that Āḷuka occurs as an epithet of Śēsha, the chief of the serpent race. Elsewhere Fleet even went as far as to suggest the possible identity of Āḷuka with the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division which, as early as in the Baḷagāṃve inscription² of Chālukya Vinayāditya (681-696 A.D.), occurs in its Prākṛit form as Nāyarkhaṇḍa and formed a part of the Banavāsi province. These suggestions of Fleet are not acceptable for more than one reason. Firstly, it will have to be explained why in a list which gives the most widely used names of all the other countries conquered by Kīrttivarman, the little used epithet of Śēsha, Āḷuka, is employed to denote a country of the Nāgas and, among them, the

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 14-15

2 Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 281, note 3

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 144-45.

Nāgarakhanda division, which only formed a part of the Banavāsi province, was in the possession of the early Kadambas and must have naturally fallen to the Chālukyas at the time of Kīrtti-varman's invasion of the Kadamba kingdom which is referred to in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription as Vaijayantī (i.e. Banavāsi, the capital city of the Kadambas) and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēsin II, already referred to, by the name Kadamba itself. Secondly, records hailing from the Nāgarakhanda region itself do not choose to associate the name of that territory with the epithet of Āluka.

4

Saletore rightly identified the Āluka of the inscription with the Ālupa kingdom and rulers of South Kanara. For doing so, however, he borrowed Fleet's equation of the Āluka to the Nāgas and, necessarily therefore, went to some length to suggest that the Ālupas were of Nāga origin. He says-⁵ "The Nāga origin of the Ālupas is proved by two facts - the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Ālupa stone inscription in the Gollara Ganapati temple at Mangalore, and the ultra-Saivite tendencies of which the Ālupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions" The Ālupa inscription⁶ referred to by Saletore is dated in the early years of the fourteenth century and should not be utilised to fix the nature of origin of a family whose records start appearing at least from the middle of the seventh century A.D. Again a

4 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Taluva, p. 60

5 Ibid., p. 61

6 ARSIE., 1901, No. 17.

perusal of the chapter on Tuluva Śaivism by Saletore himself clearly shows that the Ālupas were, by religion, Śaivites but not ultra-Śaivites.

On the other hand, what helps us to identify Āluka with Ālupa is its mention side by side with Vaijayantī. Geographically, the kingdoms of the Kadambas and Ālupas were contiguous territories. They were, therefore, mentioned one after the other in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription as they should be. The name Ālupa has many variations. The earliest occurrence of the name as Ālupa, which is obviously a sanskritised form, is met with in the famous Aihole inscription⁷ of Pulakēśin II, already referred to. It has already been pointed out that Ālupa of the Halmiḍi inscription may stand for Ālupa. In certain recensions of the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāmana purāṇas, the name of a country, people or dynasty is given, respectively,⁸ as Ālika and Ālaka. These names have been rightly identified with Ālupa. An early and perhaps more exact mention of the name as Āluva occurs in the undated Vaḍḍarse inscription⁹ of Āluva-rasa which, on palaeographical grounds, belongs to the middle of the seventh century A.D. This form of the name appears to be more exact because we find it given in the record as the proper name of the king himself. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Padma-purāṇa mentions¹⁰ the name of

7 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6, text, line 7

8 D.C. Sircar: Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 31 and note 2.

a people or country as Alava. A variant of the form Aluva is Alva as is found, for instance, in the name of the king ¹¹ Māramm-Alvarasar. In a similar manner, Alupa is sometimes written as Alpa, ¹² especially in the formation of the compound form Alp-āndra. Among all these variants, the form Aluva, by virtue of its occurrence in the earliest available inscription from South Kanara itself, is fit to be taken as the original and the most exact as against the rest. The other variants appear to have resulted from attempts at sanskritising what was originally of Dravidian origin, namely Aluva. This takes us to the etymology of the dynastic name Aluva, Alva, Aluka, Alupa etc.

With reference to the name Alupa, R.G. Bhandarkar observed ¹³ - "The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar Coast." ¹⁴ Hultzsch rightly rejected this view when he said - "This is very improbable, because Aluvāy (Alwye) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Alupas are found in South Canara, Kadūr and Shimoga." In the same breath, Hultzsch offered what even to-day appears to be the best explanation for the name Aluva-Alupa in these words - "The original meaning

9 ARSIE., 1931-32, App. B, No. 296. It is being edited by me in the pages of Epigraphia Indica.

10 Padma-purāṇa, Vol. I, Chapter VI, verse 55

11 Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, p. 22 and plate

12 To quote only two instances, SII., Vol. IX, part I, Nos. 395 and 396.

of the word Ālupa or Āluva is probably 'a ruler', from the Dravidian root āl 'to rule'.¹⁵ Saletore's objections to this view stem from his wrong belief that the earliest variant of the name Ālupa is Āluka, of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, which is an epithet of Śeṣha. We have shown above that Āluva, as it occurs in the earliest epigraph from South Kanara itself, is the original form of the name and that Ālupa, Āluka etc. are variants resulting from attempts at Sanskritisation.

As to how this name came to be applied to the dynasty, we get no clues from the inscriptions themselves. The fact that at least four Ālupa kings had Āluvarasa as their proper name seems to suggest the possibility of its having been the name of the originator of this family whose existence and career history has failed to record. In this regard the famous Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara is an instance at hand. It may also be that Āluva represented the political status of the family at earlier periods. The parent Dravidian root, on which the name Āluva has been built, is āl which becomes āl in Kannada by the addition of the characteristic euphonic vowel to the base. Kittel¹⁶ gives the following meanings for āl=āl: a servant, a

13 Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 183, note 3.

14 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 15-16. Travancore in Hultzsch's statement stands for the erstwhile native state of Travancore.

15 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 55 ff.

16 A Kannada-English Dictionary (Mangalore, 1894), qv.

soldier, a messenger; to possess, to govern, to rule; manliness, bravery. The last two of the meanings given, being qualities in men, support the possibility of Āluva having been the proper name of the family's originator. The rest speak of status and office. It may well be remembered in this context that the famous Pratihāra dynasty of North India is known to have derived its name from the fact that earlier members of that family served as imperial door-keepers.¹⁷ Any final conclusion on the exact etymology of the name Āluva = Ālupa, as applied to the dynasty of South Kanara, will not, however, be possible in the absence of concrete epigraphical evidence.

To go back to the political history of the Ālupas in the last quarter of the sixth century, we have seen that, according to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Kīrttivarman conquered Āluka and Vaijayantī i.e. the Ālupa kingdom and the Kadamba country. Whereas according to local traditions and the Halmiḍi inscription, the Tulu Country was under Kadamba Mayūra-varma and his grandson Kākusthavarma respectively, the Mahākūṭa inscription, by its separate mention of Āluka and Vaijayantī, clearly implies that the Ālupas had by then become independent of the Kadamba power. No other source mentions the nature of relationship that existed between Kīrttivarman and the Tulu country nor do we know the name of his Ālupa contemporary.

18

Saletore, however, has suggested, on a mistaken premise, that the Ālupa contemporary of Kīrttivarman was Māramma Ālvarasar. The mistaken premise is that the Udiyāvāra inscription¹⁹ of this Māramma Ālvarasa is, from the language point of

study, as old as about 575 A.D. It will be shown below that this Udiyāvara inscription belongs, on sound palaeographical grounds, not to about 575 A.D., but to the middle of the ninth century. The language of the inscription is only as archaic and its writing as late as two other inscriptions²⁰ of this king, also from Udiyāvara.

Subsequent history of the Chālukyas and the Ālupas shows that the conquest of the Tulu country by Kīrttivarman was not in the form of a mere raid but resulted in the subordination of the Ālupa rulers to the imperial power at Bādāmi. Though this Chālukya supremacy is not directly referred to for the reign of Kīrttivarman's successor Maṅgalēśa, the recording of the former's conquest in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the latter king clearly shows that the Ālupas continued their allegiance even in the subsequent reign.

The next reference to the Ālupas as the feudatories of

17 Raychaudhuri : Political History of Ancient India, p. 631, footnote 3.

18 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 79 ff.

19 SII., Vol. VII, No. 283. Saletore's silence on the palaeography of the inscription in question leads us to believe that he had no opportunity to examine the writing either in situ or through estampages.

20 Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 22-23, Nos. VII and VIII and plates.

the Bādāmi Chālukyas is to be found in the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II (609/10-642 A.D.), already referred to.²¹ The nineteenth verse of this inscription reads-

Gaṅg-Ālupāndrā vyasanāni sapta
hitvā pur=opārjita-sampadō=pi |
yasy=ānubhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=
āsanna-sēvāmrīta-pāna-saundhā ||

'Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking²² the nectar of close attendance upon him.'

Though Saletore's observations on this verse are vague, he seems to suggest that the Ālupas 'raised the banner of revolt against King Maṅgalēśa who was elsewhere preoccupied and that they had to be conquered afresh by Pulakēśin II.²³ This conclusion, however, is not warranted by the import of the above stanza. The actual implication of the claim that the 'Gaṅgas and the Ālupas were ALWAYS intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him' appears to be that Pulakēśin's

21 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 5-6

22 Ibid., p. 10. The translation is by F. Kielhorn, the editor of the inscription.

23 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 201-02.

greatness and great prowess were enough to ensure the continued allegiance of the two royal houses. The claim made in the Harihar plates²⁴ of Vinayāditya (681-696 A.D.), the grandson of Pulakēśin II, that the Ālupas were hereditary subordinates of the Chālukyas lends support to our view that Kīrttivarman's conquest of the Tulu country resulted in permanent subjugation of its ruling house.

We may discuss here the problem of assigning the Māru-²⁵tūru copper-plate grant of the 8th year of a Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha. Engraved in 7th century Telugu-Kannada characters, the record, in corrupt Sanskrit, is of importance to early Ālupa history. It records a grant of the village Māruṭūra to a number of brāhmanas, by the emperor, for the saṅkalpa-siddhi of the preceptor of the chief queen Kadamba-mahādēvī and for the eternal merit of Āluka-mahārāja who had gone all the way from Maṅgalapura to take upon himself the overlordship of Kallūra at the behest of the emperor.

For purposes of assigning this grant, the editor of the above record took into consideration²⁶ only the reigns of Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II and concluded, on the strength of the reference in the grant to the seizure of Pishtapura by Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha, an achievement ascribed to Pulakēśin II in his famous Aihole inscription²⁷, that the Māruṭūra grant belongs

24 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 92-93.

25 Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 6, pp. 11-39 and plates.

26 Ibid., pp. 16 ff.

to the reign of Pulakēśin II only. Accordingly, he equated the details of date given in the record, viz., year 8, Jyēshṭha Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse to A.D. 616, May 21, on which day there was a solar eclipse. A.D. 616 was not, however, the 8th year of Pulakēśin II who is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 609/10. The long discussion into which the editor enters in order to remove this discrepancy is not convincing. Moreover, Pulakēśin II is taken to have reduced Pishtapura only shortly before A.D. 630-31, the date of his Koppāram plates.²⁸ Also, the earliest direct reference to his conquest of Pishtapura occurs only in his Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35.

On the other hand, the details of the above date given in the Mārūtūr grant, if referred to the reign of Pulakēśin II's son and successor Vikramāditya I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, regularly correspond to A.D. 663, May 12.²⁹ The reference to the capture of Pishtapura by Prithvivallabha may be interpreted to mean that Vikramāditya I was obliged to re-invade the territory after the kingdom of Pishtapura had once again declared its independence consequent on the death of Pulakēśin II. Āluka-mahārāja of this grant is, therefore, to be identified with Ālavarasa I.

At the violent end of Pulakēśin II in 642 A.D. in the course of the retaliatory invasion of his capital Vātāpi by his

27 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp 4 ff

28 The Classical Age, p. 250.

29 Swamikannu Pillai: The Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part I, p. 224.

Pallava contemporary Narasimhavarmen I, thirteen years of darkness crept into Chālukya history. From the midst of that chaos, after years of struggle, the late emperor's son, Vikramāditya, rose in about 654-55 A.D. and attained to great power. To rebuild upon ruins is more difficult than to build anew. Even Vikramāditya, endowed as he was with imperial descent, proven bravery and unrelenting perseverance, could not have achieved this near-miracle of retrieving and rejuvenating a destroyed and disunited empire, lone-handed. On the basis of an inscription³⁰ of the eleventh century from Nagar in the Shimoga district of Mysore State, it has been suggested³¹ that the Gaṅga

30 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Nagar 35. This inscription belongs to the reign of the later Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, and, incidentally, provides a detailed history of the Gaṅgas. With reference to Durvinīta this record states that he captured Kāḍuveṭṭi (i.e. the Pallava king) on the field of battle, and set up his own daughter's son (i.e. Vikramāditya, the son of Pulakēsin II) in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimha, (the founder of the Bādāmi Chālukya line).

31 A History of South India, p. 145. Though objections to this view have been raised on the ground that the Nagar inscription is of a late date (See Karnāṭakada Arasu-manetanagalu, pp. 141-42), the historicity of other traditional accounts contained in that inscription have nowhere been questioned. It must also be borne in mind that the interpretation which connects Gaṅga Durvinīta with Vikramāditya fits well into the known political history of the Bādāmi Chālukyas for the period

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king Durvinita, the maternal grandfather of Vikramāditya, was one such helping hand. Though the inscriptions of Vikramāditya himself do not refer to the assistance rendered by any but his sword and his horse Chitrakaptha in the achievement of his success, it is not improbable that the Ālupas, besides the Gaṅgas, had a part to play in his triumph. For, as if in reward for this, and for no other convincing reason, we find the Ālupas in possession of the Kadamba-maṇḍala in the second half of the seventh century. From Vikramāditya onwards, Ālupa history emerges from darkness and personalities and their approximate dates fall into firmer shapes. The Ālupa contemporary of Vikramāditya was Āluvarasa I.

We thus see that the first known name of an Ālupa contemporary of a Chālukya emperor, ever since the former were subjugated by Kīrttivarman I, is Āluvarasa. However, Saletore, whose mistaken assignment of Māramma Ālvarasa as the Ālupa contemporary of Kīrttivarman I has already been referred to, picked up two other names from inscriptions and made them the contemporaries respectively of Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II, giving them his own names of Sakala Śrīmat Āluvarasar and Kundavarjmarasa.³²

of Pulakēśin II's fall and his son Vikramāditya's rise.

32 The inscription of (Sakala Śrīmat) Āluvarasa is from Udiyāvāra and is No. 96 of ARSIE., 1901. It is published in SII., Vol. VII, under No. 279. As will be shown below, it belongs to the first half of the eighth century on grounds of palaeography. Saletore got the name of Kundavarjmarasa, supposed by him to have been the son of (Sakala Śrīmat) Āluvarasa and father of Āluvarasa I

It will be shown in the pages to come that the former, whose proper name was actually Āluvarasa, Sakala-srīmat being only an honorific phrase, was an Ālupa ruler of the eighth century and that Kundavarmarasa, whom Saletore considered, further, to have been the father of Āluvarasa I, was not a member of the Ālupa dynasty but was only an official serving under Āluvarasa I.

Āluvarasa I

33

The earliest inscription from the territory over which the Ālupas ruled the longest, namely South Kanara, belongs to the reign of Āluvarasa I. This inscription is found engraved on a stone-slab of very irregular shape kept in the prākāra of the Mahalingēśvara temple at Vaddarse in the Udupi Taluk. The record is in early Kannada characters and language. It is not dated but could be assigned to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography which agrees by and large with the palaeography of similar records of the same period. Archaic forms of ra, ya, la and ka are particularly helpful in assigning this inscription to the middle of the seventh century.

The primary importance of this record lies in the fact

from an inscription from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur district, Mysore State. This has been published in Ep. Carn., Vol. VI as Kp. 38 by B.L. Rice whose wrong reading of a passage, which will be discussed below, led to Saletore's error.

3/ 35 ARSIE., 1931-32, App. B, No. 296.

that it is the earliest as yet discovered inscription from South Kanara. The inscription, which is in many places badly worn out and which begins with the statement that it was written by one Kanakasiva, refers itself to the reign of Āluvarasa who is not given in the record any titles and epithets but only the honorific śrīmatu. It further states that in Āluvarasa's kingdom (= Āluvarasārā rājyad-ullā which may also mean 'during the reign of Āluvarasa'), while Kandavarṃmarasa's trusted servant Guṇḍaṇṇa was administering the division (nāṭṭu mudina keya) and while Sattigāri was administering . . banna, Āḍakappa was holding the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands in Vaḍḍarse. Beyond this the writing is badly worn out and damaged and the text is readable only in parts but this much could be discerned that 17 kañchu and 1 kīl-gaṇchu (of money) were granted, on the orders of Chiriyappa and Guṇḍaṇṇa, for expenses towards the feeding of 17 brāhmaṇas. The inscription also records the grant of some land, all details pertaining to this being lost. Some wāt-land in the village of Naggepāḍi was also granted, perhaps to an inhabitant of that village (Naggepāḍiyān), and the donee appears to have been exempted from paying one tenth of the gross produce of the gifted land as tax.

Āluvarasa, to whose reign this inscription belongs, is also known from another undated inscription ³⁴ from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur district, Mysore State. The historical portion of this inscription reads -

śrīmatu Ālu-arasar Gunasāgara-dvitiya-
nāmadhēyan Kadambamaṇḍalaman-āuttum
Ālu-arasarum Mahādēviyarum Chitravāhanarum
Kundavarmmarasa mudime-geye Kilgāna-
dēvake ellamān sarva-parihāram biṭṭa
modalin-anittōrān-ittanta biṭṭa [dharma*]

'When Ālu-arasa, who had the second name of Gunasāgara, was ruling over the Kadamba-maṇḍala and during the headmanship (mudime) of Kundavarmmarasa, Āluvarasa, (his queen) Mahādēvī and Chitravāhana granted in confirmation the earlier grants to the god of Kilgāna free of all imposts.'

Like the Vaḍḍarse inscription, this record also is not dated but could be assigned on grounds of palaeography to about 680 A.D. The name of the king and the palaeography of the Vaḍḍarse and Kigga inscriptions are strong enough grounds for concluding that the two records belong to the reign of one and the same Āluvarasa. The confirmation of this identification, as also the nature of relationship between Āluvarasa and Chitravāhana, are found in the Sorab Copper plate grant³⁵ of Chālukya Vinayāditya. This grant, issued in 692 A.D., records the gift of the village Sālivoḡe to the brāhmaṇa Divākarasarman by the emperor Vinayāditya at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Gunasā-

gara-Ālupēndra (Gunasāgara-Ālupēndr-ātmaja-srī-Chitravāha-mahā-rāja-vijñāpanayā). Chitravāha-mahārāja of the Sorab plates being undoubtedly the same as Chitravāhana of the Kigga inscription, his father Gunasāgara Ālupēndra could be none other than the Āluvarasa of the Vaḍḍarse and Kigga records.

While editing the Kigga inscription, B.L. Rice committed the error of reading the passage 'Kundavarmmarasam mudime geve' as 'Kundavarmmarasam mudime-geve' and accordingly translated it as 'on Kundavarmmarasa coming to his end'.³⁶ Naturally enough Moraes³⁷ and Saletore³⁸ made Kundavarmmarasa the predecessor and father of Āluvarasa. The former even went as far as to suggest that Kundavarmmarasa 'became the vassal of Chālukya Pulikēśi II and was appointed by him to rule over the Kadamba-maṇḍala or the Banavāsi province.' The wrong reading of the passage concerning Kundavarmmarasa in the Kigga inscription, coupled with the destruction of the Banavasi Kadambas by Pulakēśin II and the subsequent appearance of Āluvarasa as the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala had, no doubt, precipitated these wrong conclusions. If Kundavarmmarasa is accepted as the father of

36 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Translations, p. 82

37 The Kadamba Kula, p. 77

38 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva pp. 74 and 82.

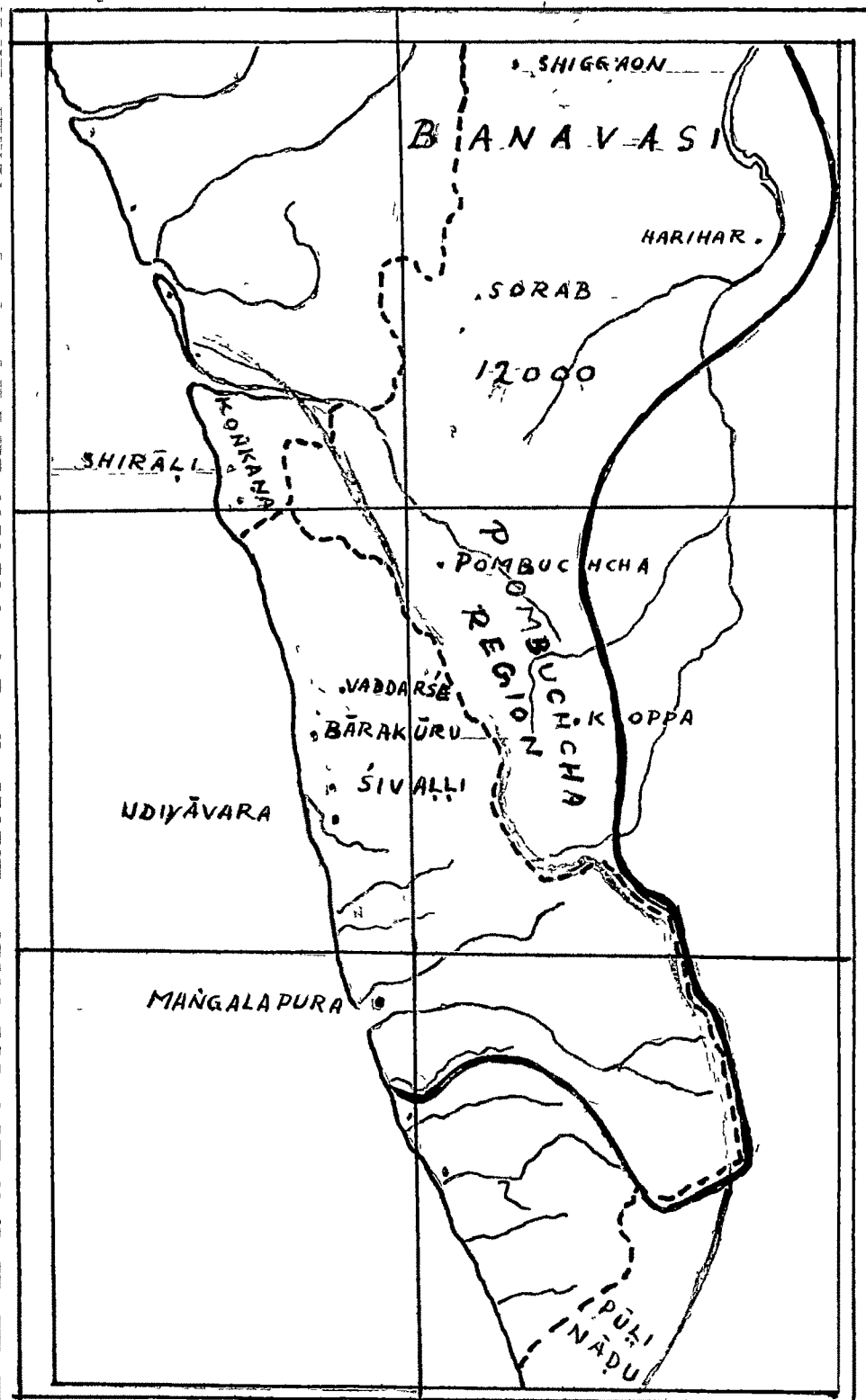
Āluvarasa and also as the first Ālupa ruler of Kadambamaṇḍala, it will be difficult to explain how the Ālupas, on whom the Kadamba-maṇḍala was bestowed by Puṭlakēśin II, succeeded in keeping their hold upon that politically important territory for more than a decade of utter confusion, when the capital of their suzerains, Vātāpi, was under the occupation of the victorious Pallavas.

The truth is, however, brought home by the correct reading of the above passage as Kundavarṃmarasaṃ mudime-geya (when Kundavarṃmarasa was the headman probably of the district around Kigga, the findspot of the inscription). The expression mudime-geya in the sense of 'headmanship' is of common occurrence in inscriptions from South Kanara while mudime-geya is entirely unknown even outside.³⁹ It is thus obvious that Kundavarṃmarasa was only a subordinate official in charge of the administration of a district and that he was also alive at the time of the Kigga epigraph was engraved.

We may now study the extent of Āluvarasa's territorial possessions. From the provenance of the Vaddarse inscription, we learn that he was the ruler of the Tulu country. Kigga, the

39 Strangley enough, in page 323 of Ep.Carn., Vol.VI wherein the text of the Kigga inscription is given in Kannada characters, the correct reading mudime-geya is found printed ! While editing some inscriptions of the Ālupas in Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, pp. 15 ff., Hultzsch gave in p. 21, note 3, the correct reading and interpretation of this text on the analogy of its Tamil equivalent 'nāṭṭu-mudumai'.

THE KINGDOMS of NANNAN AND ĀLUVARASAI



findspot of his other inscription, is a village in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur district. In later history, the region around Kigga came to be known as Sāntalige-1000 under the rule of the Sāntaras who had Pombuchchapura (i.e. modern Humcha, Shimoga district) for their headquarters. It will be shown by and by that the Ālupas laid claims to authority over the Pombuchcha region for generations. The Kigga inscription states clearly that Āluvarasa was ruling over the Kadamba-maṇḍala. Thus we find Āluvarasa holding sway over a fairly extensive area made up of the South Kanara district which, according to later inscriptions, was a 6000 division, the Sāntalige region which was a 1000 division and the Kadambamaṇḍala also known as Banavāsi-⁴⁰ 12000.

It is interesting to note that both the Vaḍḍarse and the Kigga inscriptions do not ~~not~~ mention any over-lord of the Ālupa king. But Āluvarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala as also the political career of his son Chitravāhana clearly show that Āluvarasa was closely connected with the house of Bādāmi Chālukyas. We have already suggested that Āluvarasa may have played an important role in Vikramāditya's struggles for the recovery of his lost empire. Perhaps, by virtue of his great services to Vikramāditya, Āluvarasa had earned for himself the⁴¹ position of an honoured though subordinate ally.

40 See map attached.

41 This conclusion is also amply confirmed by the fact, to be discussed hereafter, that Āluvarasa's son Chitravāhana was accepted for the hand of Kunkumādēvi, the sister of Chālukya

The position of honour and importance held by Āluvarasa I in the Chālukya empire is illustrated by the Mārūtūru grant which, as has been shown above, was issued on the 12th of May, A.D. 663, in the 8th year of Vikramāditya I's reign. One of the two purposes of the grant, made by the emperor, was the invocation of eternal merit (akshayya-phala) upon Āluka-mahārāja who had travelled all the way from Maṅgalapura, at the risk of neglecting the enjoyment, administration and defence of his own district (sva-vishay-ōpabhōga-rakshana-vidhi-vidhānāny-aphāva) in order to oblige the emperor (mad-arthaṁ). The emperor gratefully recollects the fact that Āluka-mahārāja had gone all the way from Maṅgalapura disregarding the ruggedness of the roads, the long duration of the journey and all the hazards which accompany such a travel (vishama-vikriṣht-ādhvāna-pravāsa-pratyavāya-duḥkhān-aganayan). Āluka-mahārāja went to Kallūra in order to accept the overlordship of the region from the emperor.

We have already suggested the identity of Āluka-mahārāja with Āluvarasa I. The kind references made in the grant to this ruler support our view that Āluvarasa had earned the gratitude of Vikramāditya by helping him at a time of great stress.

The editor of the above record has wrongly identified Maṅgalapura with 'Maṅgalagiri near Krishna river'. This place should be identified with Mangalore in South Kanara District, which was the capital of Āluvakhēḍa during the reigns of Āluvarasa I and Chitravāhana I. In fact, such an identification is suggested by the description of the difficulties of a travel from

Vijayāditya.

Maṅgalapura across the Western Ghāts to Kallūra and Māruṭūra which have been located by the editor in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh.

We learn from this grant that Āluvarasa had the title of Mahārāja, a title indicative of subordination. Āluvarasa's overlordship of Kallūru could not have lasted long and must be taken only as an honour conferred on him by the emperor. That he did not stay on at Kallūra is suggested by his Kigga inscription which, because it mentions his son and successor Chitravāhana, should be referred to the last years of his reign.

We may now turn our attention to the probable dates and duration of Āluvarasa's reign. Since the Vaḍḍarṣe inscription makes no reference to Āluvarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala, it may be referred to a date prior to 654-55 A.D., when Vikramāditya successfully recovered the Chālukya throne and by virtue of which the kingdom of the Kadambas came under Ālupa sway. Āluvarasa's reign, therefore, may be taken to have commenced in about 650 A.D., a date which stands supported by the palaeography of the Vaḍḍarṣe inscription. As for the upper limit of his reign-period, all that we definitely know now is that he was still ruling in A.D. 663, the date of the Māruṭūra grant and that his son Chitravāhana (mentioned as Chitravāha) had already succeeded him when the Sorab plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya were issued in 692 A.D. However, the palaeography of Āluvarasa's undated Kigga inscription discussed above and his son Chitravāhana's undated record from the same place is the same and could be assigned to about 680 A.D., thus giving Āluvarasa a

tentative reign period of thirty years. This would make Āluvarasa the ruler of the Tulu country and the Pombuchcha region from about 650 A.D., and of Kadamba-maṇḍala from about 655 A.D. to about 680 A.D.

Before proceeding to discuss the next reign, we may discuss in brief the personnel associated with Āluvarasa. The Kigga inscription reads in part 'Ālu-arasarum Mahādēviyarum Chitravāhanarum' i.e. 'Āluarasa, Mahādēvi and Chitravāhana. Scholars who have given their attention to this inscription have taken Mahādēvi to mean the queen or the great queen of Ālu-arasa.⁴² Since, however, neither the king nor his son Chitravāhana receive any titles and are simply mentioned by their names, Mahādēvi obviously is the proper name of the queen of Āluvarasa and the mother of Chitravāhana.

The Vaḍḍarse inscriptions mentions one Satyādityarasa in a context which is not clear. In view of the names Udayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vimalāditya borne by some Ālupa kings of the 9th and 10th centuries, it is tempting to suggest that Satyāditya was an Ālupa prince. No other available record of the Ālupas, however, mentions this name. The Vaḍḍarse inscription also mentions a few subordinate officials. Of these, Guṇḍanna who is stated in the record to have been administering the nāḍu, probably the district around Vaḍḍarse, the findspot of the inscription, is described as the trusted servant (prāmāṇy-āḷ)

⁴² Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, p. 16; The Kadamba Kula, p. 77; Ancient Karnāṭaka Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 73

of Kandavarmmarasa. We do not know what position Kandavarmmarasa himself occupied in Āluvarasa's kingdom. In its more damaged parts the inscription refers to the headmanship (mudime) of Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu. The occurrence of the names of this nāḍu and Voḍḍarase (modern Vaḍḍarse) in the same line with only a few completely damaged letters in between, leads to the belief that Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu was the name of the district under Guṇḍappa's headmanship (mudime). The name Sattigāri, borne by the headman of .. banna is interesting. In later records Sattiga occurs as one of the colloquial forms of Satyāsraya.⁴³ Sattig-āri would thus mean 'the enemy of Sattiga' (Satyāsraya). Satyāsraya being a popular Chālukya epithet, the appearance of a Sattigāri as an official under Āluvarasa, a friend if not a vassal of the Chālukyas, is puzzling and cannot be explained in the present state of our knowledge. Sattigāri was the headman of a subdivision of the district called Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu which was under Guṇḍappa's administration. The name of the subdivision is damaged and only the letters banna could be made out from line 7. In line 15, however, immediately after the name of Sattigāri, occurs the word Banne which may be the name of the subdivision. In that case, Sattigāri was the headman of Banna or Banne. Line 16 of the inscription states that the grants were made on the orders of Chiriyappa and Guṇḍappa. The latter may have been the same as Guṇḍappa, the trusted servant of Kandavarmmarasa and the headman of the nāḍu. The identity of Chiriyappa^{hi} and the nature of his relationship to Guṇḍappa are not discernible from the epigraph.

Another official mentioned in the record is Āḍakappa who is stated therein to be the holder of the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands of Vaḍḍarse.

The Kigga inscription states that Kundavarṃmarasa was the headman (of the district) during Āḷuvarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala. We have already stated that the region around Kigga, which later on became part of Sāntalige-1000 with Pombuchcha for its capital, was under Āḷuvarasa's sway. Kundavarṃmarasa thus appears to have been administering the district around Kigga as a subordinate of Āḷuvarasa I.

Āḷuvarasa I was succeeded in about 680 A.D. by his son Chitravāhana I.

Chitravāhana I

We have already discussed the undated Kigga inscription which belongs to the reign of Āḷuvarasa I and mentions his queen⁴⁴ Mahādēvī and their son Chitravāhana I. Another inscription from the same place, the writings in which are the same as in the former from the palaeographical point of view and, therefore, assignable to about 680 A.D., refers itself to the rule of Chitravāhana who is undoubtedly identical with his namesake mentioned in the other epigraph as the son of Āḷuvarasa I. The first passage in this record reads " 'srīmach-Chitravāhana Pombuchch-āḷa', i.e. when the illustrious Chitravāhana was ruling over Pombuchcha. We have already pointed out that Pombuchcha, which is the same as modern Humcha in the Shimoga district, became in the 10th century the headquarters of Sāntalige-1000,

a division consisting of parts of the Shimoga and Kadur districts. While the inscription of Āluvarasa shows him as ruling over Kadambe-maṇḍala, that of Chitravāhana speaks of him as ruling over Pombuchcha i.e., the country around Pombuchcha which, as we have already pointed out, formed only a part of the former's territorial possessions at the zenith of his career. This statement in the inscription of Chitravāhana is difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge. On the one hand, it could be interpreted to mean that Chitravāhana, who had by then succeeded Āluvarasa at Banavāsi, went on a visit to Pombuchcha and, as would befit the occasion, caused the grant to be recorded on stone. In that case the statement in the inscription would merely mean that the Pombuchcha region was also under his sway. On the other hand, the implication may be that, while Āluvarasa was ruling over his possessions from his headquarters at Banavāsi, his son Chitravāhana was in charge of the administration of the Pombuchcha region. Even if this were the case, in view of what we know regarding the further career of Chitravāhana, it must be conceded that his appointment as the ruler of Pombuchcha must have come off towards the very end of his father's reign and even while he was very ^uyoung. The complete absence of any reference to the reign of his father in this record, however, leads to the belief that, in spite of the statement therein that he was ruling over Pombuchcha, Chitravāhana had succeeded to the throne of his father by the time the record at Kigga was written.

Āluvarasa's close contacts with the imperial Chālukyas were left to be inferred from the fact of his rule over Kadamba-

maṇḍala and from the Mārutūru grant of Vikramāditya I. Chitravāhana's records, barring the undated Kigga inscription, were all, on the other hand, issued by his imperial Chālukya contemporaries, and provide more direct information of the close contacts which characterised the relationship between the imperial rulers and the Ālupas.

The Kigga inscription discussed above states that when Chitravāhana was ruling over Pombuchcha and Nāgappa was serving as the adhikāri of Kiḷḷa (or, Nāgappa of Kiḷḷa was the adhikāri), it was stipulated that the paddy, cows' milk and the bullocks endowed to the temple of god Kilgāpēsvara were to be utilised by none but the attendants (of the temple itself). This stipulation and the curse, which follows, upon those who should flout it, suggest that the grants being enjoyed by the temple of Kilgāpēsvara had fallen into misuse. ✓

Besides the undated Kigga inscription, three copper-plate grants, all of them issued by his Chālukya overlords, refer to the reign of Chitravāhana and also vouch for the importance of the Ālupa family in that period of Karnaṭaka history. We have suggested above that Chitravāhana may have ascended the Ālupa throneⁱⁿ about 680 A.D. This would place the date of his accession towards the end of Chālukya Vikramāditya's reign. The earliest of the three copper plate grants was, however, issued only in 692 A.D. in the reign of Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-696). This grant⁴⁵ from Sorab, already referred to

⁴⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff. The date given in the record is Śaka 614 (expired), 11th regnal year of Vinayāditya,

above, records the gift of the village Sālivoḡe to the brāhmaṇa Divākaraśerman by the emperor Vinayāditya at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Gupasāgara-Ālupēndra. The epithet Ālupēndra which occurs for the first time in this record became the characteristic dynastic surname of the later Ālupas. Chitravāha being undoubtedly the same as Chitravāhana of the two undated Kigga inscriptions, the title mahārāja, also borne by his father Āluvarasa I, is of interest in that only these two rulers of the Ālupa family are known to have had this title. The later Ālupas, as will be seen below, gave themselves high-sounding titles such as adhirāja-rāja and paramēśvara. The title mahārāja was in all probability conferred upon Āluvarasa I and Chitravāhana by the Chālukyas, with whom they entered into very close alliance, as a mark of honour and recognition.

The Sorab plates do not state in as many words that Chitravāhana was on that date the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This fact, however, is easily arrived at by the statement contained in the grant portion of the record that the gift village Sālivoḡe was situated in the district (vishaya) of Eḍevolal in the vicinity of Vaijayantīpura (i.e. the ancient city of Banavāsi, the headquarters of Banavāsi-12000 or Kadamba-maṇḍala). The relevant portion of the record reads - sri-Vaijayantipur-ōpakanṭhē pūrvv-ōttara-disāvām Eḍevolal-nāma-vishayē Sālivoḡe-nāma-grāmaḥ dattaḥ). The emperor was obviously on a visit to the Banavāsi-

Dakshipāyana-saṅkrānti, Rōhipī-nakshatra, Saturday which, barring the nakshatra given, corresponds to the 22nd of June, 692 A.D.

12000 division when he was requested by the ruler of the division, Chitravāhana, to make the grant recorded in the Sorab plates. The plates themselves state that on the date of the grant Vinayāditya was encamped in the village of Chitrasēdu in the Toramara-vishaya (Toramara-vishayē Chitrasēdu-grāmaṁ adhivasati [satī]). Obviously Toramara-vishaya and Eḍevolal-vishaya were two subdivisions of Kadamba-maṇḍala and the villages Chitrasēdu and Sālivoge were not far removed from Banavāsi, the headquarters of Ālupa Chitravāhana.

The next Copper-plate grant⁴⁷ in chronological order which refers to Chitravāhana is from Harihar and was issued in 694 A.D.⁴⁸ by the same emperor Vinayāditya. It records the gift of the village Kīrukāgāmāsi situated in Eḍevolal-bhōga, a subdivision of Vanavāsi-maṇḍala, by the emperor, who was at that

46 The Kadamba Kula (p. 77) would have us believe that Eḍevolal was the hereditary district of Chitravāhana and that it was outside the Banavāsi province which was also under his rule. The expression Vanavāsi-maṇḍalē Eḍevolal-bhōgē occurring in line 28 of the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya, being discussed above, however clearly shows that Eḍevolal was only a subdivision within the Banavāsi province. As such Eḍevolal was not the hereditary district of the Ālupas but came under their sway when Kadambamaṇḍala was bestowed upon them by the Bādāmi Chālukyas.

47 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff. and plates.

48 The details of the date given are Śaka 616 (expired), regnal year 14, Kārttika, Paurṇamāsī corresponding to A.D. 694, October 9.

time encamped in the village of Karañjapatra in the vicinity of Harēshapura, to the brāhmaṇa Īśānaśarman at the request of Āluvarāja. The reference to the Ālupa chief merely as Āluvarāja is of interest. Though Āluvarāja is only the Sanskritised form of Āluvarasa, the chief could not be identified, for obvious chronological reasons, with Guṇasāgara. His son Chitravāhana is apparently mentioned here by his dynastic surname. While in the Sorab plate^s he is given the title of Mahārāja, the Harihar plates refer to him merely as śrīmat-Āluvarāja.

The eulogy of Vinayāditya, as given in the Harihar plates, makes a direct reference to the hereditary servitude of the Ālupas, a fact which could be inferred from the rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala of Āluvarasa I and Chitravāhana and which is proved by the Mārūtūru grant discussed above, in these words - 'Pallava-Kaḷabhra-Kēraḷa-Haihaya-Viḷa-Māḷava-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍy-ādvāḥ yān=Āluva-Gaṅg-ādvair=maṇḍalāis=sama-bhṛityatān=niṭāḥ' i.e. 'By whom the Pallavas, the Kaḷabhras, the Kēraḷas, the Haihayas, the Viḷas, the Māḷavas, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas who were hereditary servants'. We have seen above that the Gaṅga king and the Ālupendra (i.e. the Ālupa ruler whose name is not known) are referred to in the Aiḥole inscription of Pulakēśin II as subdued by the very dignity of the emperor. It could be safely read in between these two statements that the Ālupas, once conquered by Kīrttivarman I, continued their allegiance to the Chālukyas without a break.

Dharwar district, gives the latest date for the reign of Chitra-
vāhana, having been issued in 707 A.D.⁵⁰ in the reign of Vina-
yāditya's son and successor Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733/4). The
contents of this record are important for the history of the
Ālupas and hence deserve to be studied in detail.

After giving the characteristic genealogical narrative
of the Chālukyas and the date, the Shiggaon plates, in lines 31
to 41, read as follows:-

Kisuvolal-nāma-sthānam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē
Ālupēndram drashtum Vanavāsīm=āyāt^avati Vijayāditya-
vallabhēndrē Āshādha-paurṇamāsyām Pāṇḍy-āmala-
kulam=alamkurvvataḥ sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāpra-
bhāvasya ananya-sādhārana-tyāg-ōdaya-sāmpat-sam-
udhṛita-nisita-nistriṃsa-saṃghāta-vitrasta-viśīryamān-
ānēka-ripu-nripati-matta-mātāṅga-saṃghātasya Cha-
lukya-rājy-ābhivṛiddhi-hētu-bhūtasya Chitravāhana-
narēndrasya vijñāpanayā sva-hṛidaya-prahlādanakāriṇyā
hasti-rath-ādy-anēka-dāna-pradāna-puras-sara-hiranya-
garbh-āvabhṛita-snāna-pavitrikṛita-sarīrayā Kumkuma-
dēvyā Purigere-nagarē kṛitam Jina-bhavanam=uddiśya
nava-karma-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṃskāra-dēva-pūjā-
dānasāl-ādi-dharma-pravarttan-ārttham sakal-
ārhat-samaya-tilaka-srī-Mūlasaṃgh-ōdgha-Sūrasta-
dharma-~~opadēśa~~ opadēśen=āśēsha-nikāya-samāna-satr-āvāsō
Guddigere-grāmō dattaḥ [⁵¹!]

49 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff., and plates.

50 The details of the date given are Śaka 630 (expired),

Kisuvojal, the sthāna where the king was encamped when he set out on his journey to Banavāsi to see Ālupendra, is the same as Paṭṭadakal in Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District and, as a crow flies, is over a hundred miles removed from Banavāsi in Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara district. When we consider the proximity of the Chālukya capital Vātāpi (i.e. Bādāmi) and Paṭṭadakal which are situated in the same Taluk of Hungund and when we consider the great distance between these two places on the one hand and Banavāsi on the other, the inevitable conclusion is that the emperor's visit was not the casual result of his presence, for other reasons, in the vicinity of Banavāsi but was because of the high standing Chitravāhana enjoyed in his relations with the Chālukyas. The importance of Chitravāhana is amply borne out by the passage in the Shiggaon plates, quoted above. This passage describes Chitravāhana as adorning the pure family of the Pāṇḍyas. In-⁵² spite of the unhistorical legend of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuluva,

regnal year 11, Āshāḍha, Pauṇamāsī corresponding to A.D. 707 June 20, Monday.

51 A few minor errors which had crept into the original plates are ignored in this quotation which is given here with the necessary corrections.

52 The legend is contained in the Grāmapaddhati of Tuluva which stands little proved by historical tests. Buchanan also records a tradition, which he calls as the Rāya-paddhati, according to which the devils made Bhūta-Pāṇḍya Rāya rule over Tuluva for forty-two years. The date given therein, however, for this

it is certain that the Ālupas did not owe their origin to the Pāṇdyas. Though, as will be shown below, two Ālupa rulers, Pri-
thivīśāgara and Māramma, both of the ninth century, had the epi-
thet Uttama-Pāṇḍya⁵³ and, in still later times, the Ālupa kings
adopted titles such as pandita-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya-dhanañjaya, Pāṇḍya-
Chakravartin etc., one of the later kings even having the proper
name of Virapāṇḍyadeva⁵⁴, neither the available inscriptions
of Āluvarasa I nor the other records belonging to or referring
to the reign of Chitravāhana himself seek to associate the
Ālupas with the Pāṇḍya lineage. Since Chitravāhana is the ear-
liest of the known Ālupas to be connected with the Pāṇḍya-kula
and since the Shiggaon plates are the first to do so, a resort
to contemporary political history of the South may help us solve
this Ālupa-Pāṇḍya puzzle.

The Velvikkuḍi copper-plate grant⁵⁵ of the third year of
the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. 756-815 A.D.),
in a passage relating to the martial achievements of his grand-

legendary king is Śaka 1175 i.e. 1253-54 A.D. ! For a detail-
ed discussion on the merits and demerits of the legend of
Bhūtāḷa-Pāṇḍya, see Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva,
pp. 347-ff.

53 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 22-23, Nos. VII and VIII.

54 See Chapter IV below on the Medieval Ālupas.

55 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff., and plates.

father Kōchchadaiyan (c. 700-730 A.D.) says, among other things, 'kōṅ-alaruṁ-naruṁ-poliḷvāy=⁵⁶kuviladu mayil=agavū=Maṅgalapuram=⁵⁷ennum mahā-nagaruṁ-Mahāratharai erind=alitt=arai-kadal-valācam podu-moli agarri' i.e., 'at the great city called Maṅgalapura, where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers, [Kōchchadaiyan] attacked and destroyed the Mahārathas (and thus) removed the word "common property" (with reference to) the country (bordering) on the roaring seas'.

The great city (mahā-nagara) of Maṅgalapuram has been rightly identified with the modern city of Mangalore in South Kanara district and is the same as the Maṅgalapura of the Māru-tūru grant. This would mean that Kōchchadaiyan carried his arms right into the kingdom of the Ālupas and was drawn into battle by the Mahārathas at the city of Mangalore. Saletore mistook the word Mahāratha for Māratta and sought to establish that Kōchchadaiyan encountered the forces of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa at Maṅgalapura. This induced Saletore to make the following remarks - ' in the reign of Prabhūtvārsha Gōvinda III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, an Ālupa feudatory was punished with the forfeiture of a part of his territory. The reason is obvious: on the failure of the Ālupa ruler (Chitravāhana II) to carry out the imperial order against Śadaiyan Rāpadhīra (i.e. Kōchchadaiyan), the Rāshtrakūṭa viceroy, no doubt at the instance of the emperor, became angry and sent a general against

56 Ibid., p. 301, text-lines 65-67

57 Ibid., p. 307

the Ālupa king".⁵⁸ These views are extremely mistaken and are not supported by the facts of known history.

The Vēlvikkudi grant was issued in the reign of Neḍuñjādaiyaṇ, the grandson of Kōchchadaiyaṇ, and is to be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the middle of the eighth century.⁵⁹ What is more, the Ānamalai inscription⁶⁰ of Kali year 3871 (expired) gives for Neḍuñjādaiyaṇ the date of 770 A.D., thus rendering Saletore's date of 795-800 A.D. for the reign of his grandfather Kōchchadaiyaṇ an utter impossibility. Neḍuñjādaiyaṇ (756-815 A.D.) himself, and not Kōchchadaiyaṇ as has been supposed by Saletore, was the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Gōvinda III (792-814 A.D.). Thus on grounds of the palaeography of the Vēlvikkudi grant and the date of the Ānamalai inscription, Kōchchadaiyaṇ should be considered as the contemporary, not of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, but of Chālukya Vijayāditya (696-733/⁶¹ 34 A.D.). The date of 700-730 A.D. given elsewhere⁶¹ for the reign-period of Kōchchadaiyaṇ suits the known history of the early Pāṇḍyas best. Thus the political exigencies which compelled Gōvinda III to expel Chitravāhana II from a part of the latter's territories, which event is graphically depicted in an inscription⁶² from Māvāḷi, were not the ones given by Saletore and quoted above, but were entirely different as will be shown at the proper

58 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 215 ff.

59 The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 39 ff.

60 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 318 and 320

61 A History of South India, p. 163. Also see The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom p. 41

62 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

place in this chapter below. It will be further shown that at the time of his requital by Govinda III, Chitravāhana was not in possession of the Tulu country in which was situated the city of Maṅgalapura.

It thus becomes apparent that Kōchchadaiyan defeated the mahārathas at Maṅgalapura in the reign of Vijayāditya. The Ālupas being the subordinate allies of the imperial Chālukyas, it is reasonable to suppose that the mahārathas, who faced the Pāṇḍya invasion at Mangalore, were the imperial Chālukya forces stationed in the Ālupa kingdom for obvious political reasons. It is not improbable that, this battle having been fought in Ālupa territory, Chitravāhana had the occasion to exhibit his valour in effectively checking the progress of the Pāṇḍya invader further deep into Tuluva and thereby into Chālukya territory. This may also explain why Kōchchadaiyan did not leave behind any vestiges in Tuluva of this raid upto Mangalore. The reason why Vijayāditya himself makes no references to a war against the Pāṇḍyas may be because the Pāṇḍya invasion did not involve the actual territories of the Chālukyas. This achievement on the part of Chitravāhana I may have prompted the members of his family to associate themselves with the dynastic name of Pāṇḍya as a mark of triumph and glory. The eulogy 'Chālukyarāiy-ābhivṛddhi-hētu-bhūtaḥ' i.e., 'he who was the cause for the prosperity of the Chālukya kingdom', accorded to Chitravāhana in the passage from the Shiggaon copper-plate inscription quoted above, does indicate that he had rendered valuable service to the imperial house at a moment of stress. In the comparatively peaceful reign of Vijayāditya, it is difficult to think of another

exigency by the distinction obtained in facing which an otherwise petty chieftain like Chitravāhana could have brought upon himself such lofty praise.

As has been pointed out above, the Shiggaon plates are dated in 707 A.D. The Harihar plates of 694 A.D., issued in the previous reign, merely mention Chitravāhana I as Āluvarāja. Since the approximate year of Kōchchadaiyan's accession was 700 A.D., it may be suggested that the battle of Maṅgalapura between Kōchchadaiyan on the one side and Chitravāhana I and the Mahārathas on the other may have been fought sometime between 700 and 707 A.D.

It has been suggested above that Chitravāhana I may have succeeded his father in about 680 A.D. This would mean that Chitravāhana had been ruling for over a quarter of a century at the time ~~the~~ Shiggaon plates were issued. His reign may have commenced at a date not far removed from the date of Vinayāditya's accession in 681 A.D. Records of the period crowd the fifteen years of Vinayāditya's reign with military expeditions against a number of enemy kings. Chitravāhana I may have earned the praise, accorded to him in the above quoted passage from the Shiggaon plates, that he destroyed with the help of his flashing sword the elephants of many an enemy king, by virtue of his having taken an active part in the wars of Vinayāditya.

The object of the Shiggaon plates is to register some grant made by emperor Vijayāditya at the time of his visit to Chitravāhana at Banavāsi, at the latter's request, to the Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kumkumadēvī at Puri-

gere. Purigere is the same as modern Lakshmēśvar in Shirhatti Taluk, Dharwar District. Among the gifts made to the Jaina monastery was the village Guḍḍigere which is identical with modern Guḍigēri, about six miles to the west of Lakshmēśvar and situated in the same Taluk and District.

A Jain inscription⁶³ in this village of Guḍigēri, dated in Śaka 998 (expired), Anala = 1076-77 A.D., says - ⁶⁴ Chālukya chakravartti-Vijayādityavallabh-ānujey=appa śrīmat-Kuṁkuma-mahā-dēvi Purigereyalu mādisid=Ānesejjeya-basadi i.e. 'the Ānesejjeya-basadi caused to be constructed at Purigere by Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi, the younger sister of the Chālukya emperor Vijayāditya-vallabha'. We further learn from the same inscription that, on the authority of a copper-plate charter, the lands of Guḍigere were under the control of the Ānesejje monastery built by Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi. It may be concluded from these that the copper-charter was none other than the Shiggaon plates and that the Ānesejje monastery and Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi, the sister of Vijayāditya, were identical with the monastery and its builder Kuṁkumadēvi mentioned in the Shiggaon plates.

Immediately after referring to Chitravāhana's request to Vijayāditya (Chitravāhana-narēndrasya-vijñāpanayā), the Shiggaon plates allude to Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi as svahridaya-prahlādanakāripī

⁶³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 35 ff.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 39, text-lines 20-21.

i.e. 'the delight to his heart'. From the context in which it occurs, this expression should be interpreted with reference to Chitravāhananarēndra. In view of these facts, the learned editor of the Shiggaon plates observes ⁶⁵ - 'Since Vijayāditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be erected by her was made at the request of Chitravāhana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The expression sva-hṛdaya-prahlādana-kāriṇyā applied to Kumkumadēvi in lines 36-37 (of the Shiggaon plates) might refer to Chitravāhana. Thus he might have been related to the king as brother-in-law. And the way in which Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsi is described might lend further support to this view; cf. Ālupēndraṁ drashtuṁ Vanaḥvāsīmāyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrā in line 32. This suggests that the king had gone to Banavāsi as if to pay a courtsey visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an overlord'.

Thus we find Chitravāhana carrying the fame of the Ālupa dynasty to considerable heights not only by means of his political eminence but also by striking marital alliance with the imperial Chālukyas. In this connection, it may be suggested that the marriage of Chitravāhana with Kumkumadēvi must have been celebrated sometime after 694 A.D. at which date the Harihar plates speak of Ālupa servitude to Vinayāditya who would have been more respectful towards the family of his son-in-law if Chitravāhana had been such at that date. If this is accepted, it will have

to be conceded, however, that Chitravāhana was barely a boy when he succeeded his father in about 680 A.D.

The Shiggaon plates further eulogise that the great power of Chitravāhana was known in all the worlds and that his incomparable munificence eclipsed the fame of all other generous men. As for his queen Kumkumadēvi, the record says that her body was purified by the sacred bath at the hīraṇyagarbha sacrifice which was accompanied by numerous gifts of elephants and chariots.

Chitravāhana I, like his father Gupasāgara alias Aḷuvarasa I, was a Saivite. His queen Kumkumadēvi, on the other hand, caused to be constructed a Jaina monastery to which some grants were made at the request of her husband. The Shiggaon plates thus give us a glimpse into the spirit of tolerance which moderated the religious leanings of the rulers of those days.

As for Chitravāhana's reign period, it has been suggested above that he may have succeeded his father at Banavāsi in about 680 A.D. The latest known date for him, 707 A.D., is provided by the Shiggaon plates. If, as has been suggested, he was only a boy at the time of his succession, he may be taken to have ruled until about 730 A.D.

To this period of glory in Aḷupa history belongs an undated inscription⁶⁶ on a broken pillar planted in front of the Durgā Paramēśvarī temple at Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk. Beautifully engraved in Kannaḍa characters of the 7th-8th century,

this inscription, which commences with the auspicious word svasti, consists of only one stanza in Sanskrit in the Anush-tubh metre. The verse reads -

śrīmatām-vipulā-vāṃsa-vasīkṛita-mahābhujām |
Pāṇḍyānām-Ālupēndrāpām-avyāsus-Santa-mātaraḥ ||

'The Seven Divine Mothers are the protectors of the illustrious Ālupēndras, who attract (the friendship) of emperors because of the greatness of their family and who were (known as) Pāṇḍyas.'

The reference to the Seven Divine mothers as the protectors of the Ālupas reminds one of the expression Santa-matṛibhir-abhivarddhitanām, usually found in the inscription⁸ of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. The above dynastic eulogy was composed and engraved obviously at a time when the Ālupas were at the zenith of their power as a result of their close and friendly contacts with the imperial Chālukyas.

As for his territorial possessions, Chitravāhana I does not appear to have added to those under his father, namely the native kingdom of the Ālupas (i.e. the South Kanara district), the Pombuchcha region and the Bahavāsi country.

stanza is metrically defective though- all the 8 syllables necessary for the Anush-tubh metre are present.

Āluvarasa II

There is no direct evidence to show who succeeded Chitra-vāhana and where and when. Strangely enough, the next dated record mentioning an Ālupa ruler does not come from any of their three above mentioned territorial possessions but is from Mallam,⁶⁷ a village in the Gudur Taluk of the Nellore District, in Andhra Pradesh. Another surprise in the record is that it refers itself to the reign of Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-95), a member of the imperial Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī with which the Ālupas do not appear to have had any contacts till then.

This is a stone inscription in Tamil and is dated in the fifteenth year of Nandippōttarasar i.e., Pallava Nandivarman II. This ruler is known to have ascended the throne at Kāñchī in about 731 A.D.⁶⁸ The Mallam inscription would thus belong to about 745-46 A.D. The object of the record is to register some grant made by the Pallava king to god Subrahmanya of Tiruvānbūr in Peyiyūr-ilāṅgōṭṭam at the request of Āluvarasa when Chalukki-
arasar was the executor (āpatti). Tiruvānbūr is evidently the same as Mallam, the findspot of the inscription under study, and the division called Peyiyūr-ilāṅgōṭṭam in which the village was situated was, therefore, the region around Mallam itself.

⁶⁷ Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 429-30 and plate.

⁶⁸ A History of South India, p. 164

There is no doubt that Āluvarasa of this inscription was the then ruling member of the Ālupa family. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an undated Kannada inscription⁶⁹ from Udiyāvara in Udipi Taluk, South Kanara district, palaeographically assignable to the middle of the eighth century, refers itself to the reign of Āluvarasa. It will not be far-fetched to identify this Āluvarasa with his namesake of the Mallam Tamil inscription. Āluvarasa was in all probability the son of Chitravāhana and grandson of Guṇasāgara. He appears to have been named so after his grandfather Āluvarasa I and hence will be designated Āluvarasa II in the pages to follow.

70

Saletore rightly identified the Nandipōttarasar of the Mallam inscription with the Pallava king Nandivarman II (731-795 A.D.) but mistook Āluvarasar and the ~~Āpatti~~ Chālukki-arasar to be none other than Chitravāhana I (680-730 A.D.) and Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (696-733/34 A.D.) both of whom had ended their reigns years before the date of the Mallam inscription. On the other hand, the Mallam inscription belongs to a date which marked either the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II (733/34-744/45 A.D.) or the beginning of the reign of his son Kīrttivarman II (744-/45-755 A.D.). The provenance of the Mallam inscription and the presence of the Ālupa ruler Āluvarasa II in a village so far removed from the bounds of Ālupakhēḍa clearly suggest that the allegiance of the Ālupas had shifted from the house of the Bādāmi Chālukyas to that of the Pallavas sometime before the date of the record (i.e., 745-46 A.D.), most probably sometime in the closing years of the reign of Vikramāditya II. At any rate, it is un-

likely that the estrangement would have occurred during the reign of Chitravāhana I who had married a princess of the Chālukya family. It may also be concluded that, as a result of this estrangement between the Ālupas and their erstwhile overlords, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the former were, once and forever, deprived of their sway over the Kadamba-maṇḍala.

On the basis of the Māvāḷi inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III, which has been already referred to and which is important for the reign succeeding that of Āluvarasa II, scholars have held that the Ālupas had acquiesced in the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas down to the days when the latter were expelled from the Karnāṭaka regions by the Rāshtrakūṭas⁷¹ and that the Kadamba-maṇḍala remained in the possession of the Ālupas even

70 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 207-211.

71 Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 203. To prove his thesis, Saletore refers to an undated inscription of Kīrttivarman II from Aḍūru which he wrongly locates in the Kasargode Taluk of South Kanara district but which, in reality, is a village in the Hangal Taluk of Dharwar district (ARSIE., 1938-39, B.K. No. 115). As a matter of fact, of all the inscriptions so far discovered in South Kanara, not even one belongs to the reign of a member of any of the successive imperial powers of Karnāṭaka until we come down to the reign of the Hoysala ruler Ballāḷa III (1291-1342 A.D.).

after the downfall of their overlords, the Western Chālukyas
of Bādāmi.⁷²

The Māvaḷi inscription states, in brief, that during the reign of Govinda III, while Rājāditya was the governor of Banavāsī-12000, Chitravāhana, the ruler of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000, having proved disobedient, the enraged Kākarasa marched against him and reduced the fort of Pergguñji. It is this statement which has been interpreted by Moraes to mean that Chitravāhana II who, as will be seen below, was the successor of Āḷuvarasa II, was driven out of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This, if accepted, would imply that Āḷuvarasa II was in continued possession of Kadamba-maṇḍala even as his predecessors, and would run contrary to the import of the Mallam inscription and the statement in the Māvaḷi inscription itself that Rājāditya was the then governor of Kadamba-maṇḍala. Even if the Chālukyas were at that time a waning power, they were not so weak as to tolerate the sway, over the important territory of Kadamba-maṇḍala, of a subordinate of the Pallavas whose hereditary enmity for the Bādāmi house is only too well known. Moreover, the provenance of the Māvaḷi inscription, as also its contents, clearly show that the battle of Pergguñji was fought somewhere in the Pombuchcha region which had all along formed an integral part of the Āḷupa

72 Moraes: The Kadamba Kula, pp.78 and 81. In page 81, the author says - 'Under the Rāshtrakūṭas also it (i.e. the Kadamba-maṇḍala) continued to be governed by these chiefs (i.e. the Āḷupas) for well nigh half a century till about the year 800 A.D.'

kingdom. The reasons for the attack on Chitravāhana II by Gōvin-da III will be set forth while discussing the next reign. What concerns us here is the conclusion that the Ālupas had lost Kadamba-maṇḍala by the date of the Mallam inscription.

We have suggested above that Chitravāhana I may have ended his reign in about 730 A.D. This would place the date of Āluvarasa II's accession in about the same year. As shown above, the reign of Āluvarasa II witnessed, on the one hand, the estrangement of the Ālupas and the Chālukyas and the subsequent loss of Kadamba-maṇḍala and, on the other, the transfer of their allegiance by the Ālupas to the Pallavas. No records are forthcoming to bear witness to the circumstances which led to this surprising political change. In those days of constant wars, when ambitious rulers were fighting for territorial expansion, it would have been difficult for the rulers of Āluvaḥēda to have remained outside the protection of an imperial power after their breach with the Chālukyas. There were then only two powers which were effective against that of the Chālukyas. One centred round the ambitious personality of Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga who, about this time, was too busy in the northern domains of the decaying Chālukya empire. The other one was the Pallava empire with Nandivarman II on the throne. Though the defences of the Pallava empire had been proved vulnerable by two Chālukya invasions in the reign of Vikramāditya II, the position of Nandivarman II himself as emperor had been rendered secure by the efforts of his
73
able general Udayachandra. The records of Nandivarman II do not say that the Tulu country was invaded by the Pallavas at any

time during his reign. It is thus not possible to know the means by which the Pallava ruler secured the subordination of Āluvarasa II.

The Mallam inscription, while referring to the request made by Āluvarasa II to Nandivarman II, mentions one Chalukki-arasar as the āpatti i.e. the executor of the grant. Saletore,⁷⁴ in his attempt to identify Chalukki-arasar, says - ' . . . we know that it was Vijayāditya Satyāsraya's father Vinayāditya Satyāsraya who had twice been requested by the Ālupa king Chitravāhana I to make grants to worthy Brāhmins in the Edovolal-vishaya in the Banavase country in A.D. 692 and A.D. 694. The two grants⁷⁵ had been made when the royal camp was in Chitrasedu in the Toramara-vishaya and in Karañjapatra in Hareshapura. From these two records it is certain that the Ālupa king was prone to make requests to his sovereign, the Western Chālukya monarch. We have to suppose that as he had petitioned Vinayāditya Satyāsraya to make grants of land to learned Brahmins on two different occasions he made a third request to Vinayāditya Satyāsraya's son and successor, Vijayāditya, who seems to have been on friendly terms with his neighbouring rulers including the Pallava kings. If this is allowed, then, the Chalukkiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates would be Vijayāditya Satyāsraya and the Āluvarasar, Chitravāhana I. In that case, the Mallam inscription must have been inscribed before the defeat of Nandipōtavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II. But the occasion which made Chitravāhana I go over to Mallam in the Gūḍūr taluka will remain for the present unsolved.'

The expression used in the Mallam inscription with reference to the names occurring therein is 'Nandip-pōttarasarkku-npadipaind-āvadu Ālu-arasar vippappattinār-Chālukki-arasar-ānattiy-āga i.e. 'in the fifteenth (year of the reign) of Nandippōttarasar at the request of Ālu-arasar, with Chālukkiarasar as the executor (of the grant)'. It has already been pointed out that the fifteenth regnal year of Nandivarman II fell in 745-46 A.D. and that Vijayāditya, with whom Saletore sought to identify Chālukkiarasar, the ānatti, had been succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II as early as in 733/34 A.D. Chālukki-arasar of the Mallam inscription could not have meant Vikramāditya II or his son Kīrttivarman II either, for, unlike as suggested by Saletore, both these rulers displayed their inherited enmity for the Pallavas by carrying out a successful raid against the Pallava empire towards the end (744/45 A.D.) of Vikramāditya II's reign. The answers for the problems posed by the Mallam inscription, therefore, appear to be outside the pale of the history of the Western Chālukyas.

It is certain that Āluvarasa was not present at Mallam as the ruler of the district Peyiyūr-ilāṅgōṭṭam. He was perhaps carried to that distant place by the political currents of his days. It is known that Udayachandra, the loyal general of

75 The two grants referred to are the Sorab and Harihar plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya, which have been discussed in detail above.

Nandivarman II, overran the territories of Eastern Chālukya Vishnuvardhana III soon after lifting the seige at Nandigrāma and that he thereby added the Nellore region to the Pallava empire.⁷⁶ It is not improbable that Āluvarasa accompanied the Pallava general in his expeditions and was consequently at Mallam in 745-46 A.D. The vanquished Eastern Chālukya ruler Vishnuvardhana III probably acted as the āpatti (Sanskrit ājñapti = executor) of the grant which was made at the request of Āluvarasa II. The term āpatti denotes only a subordinate position or office and hence the Chālukki-arasar could not have been the Bādāmi Chālukya contemporary of Nandivarman II.

The other inscription of Āluvarasa II, from Udiyāvara, which, as has been pointed out above, is not dated but palaeographically belongs to the middle of the eighth century, records some grant, particulars about which are lost, to the god Cham-bukalla-dēva by a number of donors, including the seventy tenants of Udiyapura (Udiyapurada-nakarad-elpatt-okkalu), during the reign of Āluvarasa, the possessor of Patti (Pattiy-odeyōn). Patti is only another name for Pombuchcha, the modern town of Humcha in the Nagar Taluk of Shimoga district. Next to the Vaddarse inscription of Āluvarasa I, which, as suggested above, appears to have been engraved before that chief came to possess the Kadamba-maṇḍala, and the Polali-Ammunaje inscription discussed above, this Udiyāvara inscription of Āluvarasa II is the earliest from South

Kanara and its silence about Kadamba-maṇḍala, with which his predecessors Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana I had so much to do, does support our view that during his reign, Āḷuvarasa II lost his sway over that important and vast territory. The record ends with the rather puzzling statement that it was written by Kāḷāditya, the lord of the earth.

Apart from the Udiyāvara and Mallam inscriptions, no other records either belonging to or referring to the reign of Āḷuvarasa II have so far come down to us. It has been suggested above that he may have succeeded his father Chitravāhana I in about 730 A.D. He was in Mallam in 745-46 A.D. It will be seen below that his successor Chitravāhana II ended his reign in about 800 A.D. We thus have about seventy years between the commencement of Āḷuvarasa II's reign and the end of Chitravāhana II's. In the absence of any chronological data, this period may be tentatively split into two equal reigns and thus the reign of Āḷuvarasa II may be considered, for the present, to have ended in about 765 A.D. We learn from the Mārūtūru and Vēlvikkudi grants that Maṅgalapura (i.e. modern Mangalore) was the capital city of Āḷupa kingdom during the reigns of Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana I. But the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II suggests that he had his capital at Udayapura, a suggestion confirmed by the records of the subsequent reigns.

Āḷuvarasa I alias Guṇasāgara had started on a humble note holding only the Tulu country and the Pombuchcha region at the start of his reign. But, after striking a friendship with the

imperial Chālukyas of Bādāmi, he had gained a foothold in Kadamba-maṇḍala. His son Chitravāhana I ushered in a period of glory for the Ālupas, highlighted by his marriage with the Chālukya princess Kumkumadevī. But the reign of Āluvarasa II witnessed the beginning of a decline which started with the loss of Kadamba-maṇḍala and ended, before long, in the confinement of the sway of the Ālupas to the tiny region of Āluvakhēḍa or the district of South Kanara. Under Āluvarasa II, the Ālupas were still in possession of the Pombuchcha region. But the reign of his successor Chitravāhana II set in motion certain events which led to the final confinement of the Ālupas to Āluvakhēḍa.

Chitravāhana II

The stone inscription from Māvālī in the Sorab Taluk of Shimoga district, which has already been referred to, introduces to us the next Ālupa ruler, Chitravāhana II. Like the other early records on stones having a bearing on Ālupa history, this inscription also is undated but, on grounds of palaeography as well as known historical facts, it could be assigned to the end of the eighth century. This Chitravāhana II was probably a son of Āluvarasa II and grandson of Chitravāhana I.

It is very likely that the political allegiance of the Ālupas which was transferred, during Āluvarasa II's reign, from the Chālukyas of Bādāmi to the Pallavas of Kāñchī, continued

as such upto at least 792 A.D. The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grant⁷⁷ of Pallava Nandivarman II, which was issued in that year, claims that, among others, the king of the Tulu country also waited at the gates of the Pallava emperor praying for audience. From the time they destroyed the empire of the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers had been on friendly terms with the Pallavas until the reign of Dhruva Dhārāvarsha (780-792 A.D.) who put an end to this Pallava-Rāshtrakūṭa alliance by levying a tribute of elephants from Nandivarman II. With hostility marking the relationship between the two imperial powers, the Ālupas must have found it increasingly difficult to ignore the might of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose arms were nearer their kingdom than those of their Pallava suzerain. Dhruva Dhārāvarsha having proved himself more powerful than his Pallava contemporary, the Ālupas under Chitravāhana II may have deemed it wiser to shift their allegiance once again to the imperial power in the Deccan, this time the Rāshtrakūṭas. If this view is accepted, in view of the date of the Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grant (792 A.D.), we may have to date this change of allegiance not long before the date of Dhruva's abdication in favour of his able son Gōvinda III in 792 A.D.

The accession of Gōvinda III precipitated a civil war in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in 792-93 A.D. His eldest brother, Stambha-Raṇavalōka, is known to have opposed Gōvinda III

77 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 121, lines 17-18.

78
with a confederacy of twelve rulers, but to no purpose. The identity of the twelve royal supporters is not given in the Rāshtrakūṭa records, but it is not improbable that the Ālupa ruler was among them. Chitravāhana II may have desired to benefit by the disorders in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and may have thrown in his lot with Stambha. Victory did not prompt Gōvinda III to do away with his opponents. Instead, he treated them with contemptuous generosity.

It is in this light that the Māvaḷi inscription of Gōvinda III becomes important for Ālupa history. This inscription in Kannada language is a hero-stone, commemorating the heroic death of Kulamudda^a, soldier of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa army, in the battle of Pergguñji. It states that during Gōvinda III's reign, when Rājādityarasa was ruling over Banavāsi-maṇḍala, Chitravāhana, who was ruling over Āluvakhēda-6000, having proved recalcitrant, Kākarasa, at the bidding of the enraged Kolli Pallava Nolamba, besieged the fortress of Pergguñji. In the battle which ensued, in which warriors on both sides displayed great valour, Kākarasa, on seeing Chitravāhana breaking through the right flank of the imperial forces, ordered Kulamudda to oppose him. This Kulamudda fought valiantly, defeated and drove away the soldiers of Chitravāhana and, after bringing victory to the right flank, fell in the field of battle, even as Bhīshma fell, without touching the ground.

78 A.S. Altekar: The Rāshtrakūṭas and their times,
p. 61.

The statement in the record that at the time of this battle Rājādityaśarasa was governing the Banavāsi-maṇḍala goes against the contention of Moraes that the Ālupas lost their hold on Kadamba-maṇḍala as a result of this war. The findspot of the inscription, Māvālī, in the Sorab Taluk of Shimoga district, was situated in the Pombuchcha region and, therefore, the battle of Pergguñji must be considered to have been fought somewhere in that territory and not in the Kadambamaṇḍala. It is not, however, possible to definitely identify on a modern map the name of Pergguñji. The inscription states that the battle resulted from Chitravāhana's failure to listen to the emperor's advice (hāy-kēlad-ire). ~~They~~ This may be interpreted to mean that even after the defeat of the confederacy of twelve rulers headed by Stambha, Chitravāhana continued to question the supremacy of Govinda III and, therefore, came to grief in the battle of Pergguñji. If this is accepted, the Māvālī inscription may be assigned to about 794-95 A.D., a conclusion which falls in line with the palaeographical features of the record under discussion.

The inscription explicitly states that Chitravāhana and his army were put to headlong flight, implying thereby that the Ālupa ruler was deprived of his hold over a part of the Pombuchcha region. Under these circumstances, the only course that was open to Chitravāhana was to fall back upon Āluvakhēḍa-6000 of which, according to the Māvālī inscription, he was the acknowledged sovereign. But with the end of Āluvarasa II's reign, remarkable political developments had taken place in Āluvakhēḍa and elsewhere in Karnāṭaka, and, in order to correctly

understand the history of the Ālupas during that period, it becomes incumbent on our part to evaluate in detail these developments.

In the early years of the second half of the eighth century, the political picture of Karpāṭaka underwent momentous changes, the Rāshtrakūṭas first destroying and then succeeding to the imperial seat of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. The Ālupas could not have felt distressed by the extinction of the Chālukya power, for they were no longer their dependents. We have earlier seen Āluvarasa II preferring the supremacy of *the* Pallavas to that of the decaying Chālukya house and then again Chitravāhana II entering the Rāshtrakūṭa camp. The confusion which must have prevailed at the time of the death of one and the birth of another imperial power in the Deccan appears to have interested Chitravāhana II. He was a daring and ambitious prince, as is revealed by the Māvaḷi inscription, and most likely, moved into the Pombuchcha region with designs of earning territorial and political gains. However, the confinement of his rule to the Pombuchcha region and his defeat at Pergguṇḷi show that he was unsuccessful in his bid. This was because the Rāshtrakūṭas had stood up to the challenges of their newly earned status and had soon established the security of their power. Chitravāhana II and, for that matter, no one else among the numerous ambitious chiefs of those days, could find any opportunity for self-aggrandisement.

With Chitravāhana II thus busy in the Pombuchcha region, the ancient seat of his family in Āluvakhēda appears to have

fallen into the hands of another Ālupa prince, probably his brother, Rāṇasāgara by name. After his defeat at the hands of Kākarasa, when Chitravāhana II fell back upon his native kingdom of Āluvakhēḍa, his return was subjected to severe contest by Rāṇasāgara and his supporters. A handful of undated archaic stone inscriptions from Udiyāvāra, referred to in the records as Udayapura and which had become the capital of the Ālupa kingdom during the reign of Āluvarasa II, bear mute and insufficient witness to this civil war which affected two generations. In order to prepare as convincing a chronological sequence as is possible of the reigns and events which filled this period of disquiet, it becomes incumbent on our part to indulge in a comparative study of the palaeographical features of these important records from Udiyāvāra and a few other places in South Kanara.

Early Inscriptions from South Kanara

Of all the inscriptions, on stone and on copper plates, discussed above, with reference to the reigns of Āluvarasa I alias Guṇasāgara, his son Chitravāhana I, his son Āluvarasa II and his son Chitravāhana II, only three hail from the district of South Kanara, the native territory of the Ālupas, namely the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āluvarasa I, the Poḷali-Ammunaje inscription and the Udiyāvāra inscription of Āluvarasa II. The Vaḍḍarse inscription, though undated, has been assigned above to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography.

In trying to compare the palaeographical features of inscriptions from South Kanara with those of inscriptions hailing from the other regions of Karnāṭaka, it is essential to take into due consideration the comparatively slow pace of scriptal development which took place in South Kanara on account of its long-standing geographical and political isolation. This distinction is noticeable not only in the field of paleography but also in the language-form of the inscriptions from South Kanara.

The Udiyāvāra inscription of Āluvarasa II, which we have assigned, again on grounds of palaeography, to the middle of the eighth century, betrays much palaeographical similarity with inscriptions of the same period coming from other adjacent areas of Karnāṭaka. These two inscriptions from Vaḍḍarse and Udiyāvāra render themselves easy of palaeographical comparison with the other Deccanese records of their period chiefly because they belong to a period when the Tulu country had entered into close contact with the imperial powers of the Deccan. The other inscriptions of South Kanara, upto the time of the Hoysala occupation in the 14th century, reveal too many of their own peculiar characteristics, linguistic as well as palaeographical, mainly because they belong to a period during which the rulers of the Tulu country were practically left to themselves, barring occasional raids by the forces of the imperial rulers of the Deccan and the Tamilian south.

Reverting to the study of comparative palaeography, the characters of the Vaḍḍarse inscription, compare well with

those of the famous Aihole inscription⁷⁹ of Pulakesin II of A.D. 634-35, the Yakkēri rock inscription⁸⁰ of the same emperor and of about the same date, the Kurnool plates⁸¹ of Vikramāditya I issued in the third year of his reign i.e. about 656-57 A.D., to consider only a few of the records of the period. Attention may also be drawn to the characters in the Kurnool plates⁸² of the first year of one of Pulakesin II's sons, Ādityavarman, issued probably towards the close of the former's reign, with which the characters in the Vaddārase inscription bear remarkable similarities. These facts do vindicate the assignment of this inscription of Āluvarasa I to the middle of the seventh century.

The Udiyāvara Inscription of Āluvarasa II is, on the other hand, written in characters which are comparable to those in the records of the middle of the eighth century. To quote⁸³ only a few examples, we may allude to the Kañchī inscription⁸⁴ of Chālukya Vikramāditya II of about 740 A.D., the Jāvalī copper plate grant⁸⁵ of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha of 750 A.D., the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription⁸⁶ and the Vakkalēri plates of 754 and

79 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 241.

80 Ep. Ind., Vol. V, plate facing p. 8.

81 JBBRAS., Vol. XVI (1883), Plate between pp. 234-35

82 Ibid., Plate between pages 232-33.

83 Ep. Ind., Plat Vol. III, plate facing p. 360

84 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, plates between pages 152-53

85 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, plate facing p. 4.

86 Ibid., Vol. V, plates between pp. 202-05

757 A.D. respectively of the reign of Kīrttivarman II as also the same ruler's Kēndūr plates⁸⁷ of 749 A.D. We thus find that Saletore's contention that the Udiyāvāra inscription of Āḷuvarasa II belongs to as early as 600 A.D. is not borne out by data collected from a study of comparative palaeography and that the inscription really belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.D.

We have shown above that Chitravāhana II was expelled from a part of the Pombuchcha region by the forces of Rāshṭra-kūṭa Gōvinda III and that he had no choice but to fall back upon the native kingdom of the Āḷupas, the Tulu country. The dynastic rivalries which resulted from this act of Chitravāhana II are brought to light by a few inscriptions from the village of Udiyāvāra which, as the then capital of the Āḷupas, was the main scene of the civil strife.

These inscriptions, which refer to the reigns of five rulers including Chitravāhana II, are all undated and, what is more, palaeographically almost all alike. They allow themselves to be palaeographically compared with the Māvālī inscription of Gōvinda III and Chitravāhana II, which has been assigned above to about 794-95 A.D. on historical grounds and which assignment is well borne out by the palaeographical features of the record. Formations of letters such as ka, ya, ra, la, ḷa etc. are exactly the same in all these inscriptions. But, some of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions also contain forms of letters which are comparable

87 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, plates between pp.202-05.

to those in the Kumsi stone inscription⁸⁸ of Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I dated as late as in Śaka 799 = 877 A.D. A comparison of the forms of letters such as ra, ta, ra and ta will amply justify the above observation. It is thus obvious that the early inscriptions of South Kanara, which are undated but which palaeographically are later in date to the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II, should best be distributed over a longer period than is warranted by their comparative palaeography. While judging the propriety or otherwise of this declaration, it must be borne in mind that the political isolation which followed the expulsion of Chitravāhana II from a part of the Pombuchcha region must have resulted in very slow palaeographical changes within Āḷukhēda.

Chitravāhana II and the dynastic feuds

It was only natural for Chitravāhana II to retreat beyond the Ghāṭs to his own native kingdom of Tuluva after the wrath of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III had dispossessed him of a part of his extra-Tuluva possessions. The Āḷupa throne, at that time, was, however, not empty. We have suggested above that Āḷuvarasa II may have ended his reign in about 765 A.D. Chitravāhana II, who was probably an elder son of Āḷuvarasa II, may have succeeded him but appears to have stationed himself not at Udiyāvara but in the fort of Pergguñji which was situated in the Pombuchcha region. The sway over Udiyāvara and the

kingdom for which it was then the capital appears to have rested with another prince, Rapasāgara, who may have been the younger brother of Chitravāhana II. It is this Rapasāgara whom we find mentioned in the early inscriptions of Udiyāvara as the contender to Chitravāhana's claims over the Ālupa throne.

Rapasāgara is introduced to us through an undated inscription⁸⁹ in Kannada from Udiyāvara. This inscription, engraved on one of the pillars in the Court-yard of the Chembukallu temple, records the grant of certain incomes to the royal treasury from the city of Udiyapura to the god in the Chembukallu temple. The presence in Udiyāvara of this purely administrative record of the reign of Rapasāgara and the absence of such records in the Tulu country belonging to the reign of Chitravāhana II lead us to conclude that with the exit of Chitravāhana from the district of South Kanara to the Pombuchcha region, Rapasāgara had become the de facto ruler of Ālupakhēda-6000 though Chitravāhana II was still considered to be the de jure ruler of the kingdom as is shown by the Māvāli inscription.

The period of Rapasāgara's reign from the date of his accession to that of Chitravāhana II's forced return to Udiyāvara was not however entirely peaceful. The ^utroubles which beset his reign are brought to light by two records, one from Udiyāvara and the other from Kariyāṅgala in the Mangalore Taluk.

Of these, the inscription from Udiyāvara,⁹⁰ which consists of a single Kannada verse, describes, in a vivid manner, the death of a hero in the battle which ensued the attempt of Maygēsa, 'the villain', to force his entry into the city (i.e. Udiyāvara). The other inscription⁹¹ from Kariyaṅgaḷa, which consists of one Kannada verse and also a sentence in prose, records, in equally vivid terms, the death of Nāgamma alias Sūdraka, the chief of Kayravāṁsa, at the end of his victory over the combined forces of Pāybaya, in the battle against Mōgīśvara. The sentence in prose declares that Rapasāgara made a gift of compensation in appreciation of the dead warrior.

Neither of these inscriptions is dated. But, on paleographical grounds, they should be referred to the second half of the eighth century and should be considered as contemporaneous with the Udiyāvara inscription of Rapasāgara discussed above. This point is further supported by the reference to Rapasāgara as the adversary of Mōgīśvara in the Kariyaṅgaḷa inscription.

The textual as well as contextual similarities noticed in the Udiyāvara and Kariyaṅgaḷa inscriptions lead to the conclusion that both of them record details of the same battle. This will mean that Maygēsa and Mōgīśvara were two different forms of the name of one person. However, the identity of this foe of Rapasāgara is impossible to fix in the present state of

90 SII., Vol. VII, No. 291

91 SII., Vol. IX, Part I, No. 392.

our knowledge. It can only be suggested that Mōgīśvara and Maygēsa sound like the corrupt forms of Mṛigēsa, but no chief of this name is known for the period in question. The battles were not confined only to Udayapura, Maygēsa's attempted entry into which was foiled by Ranasāgara, but was staged even around the city of Mangalore as is evidenced by the other inscription from Kariyaṅgaḷa which is in Mangalore Taluk. Maygēsa or Mōgīśvara was, in all probability, a local feudatory of the Ālupas who, finding Chitravāhana II away at Pergguñji and only his younger brother on the Ālupa throne, may have made an attempt at personal aggrandisement. He, however, lost his bid and Ranasāgara's hold on the capital city of Udayapura as also over the rest of the Ālupa kingdom remained secure.

Towards the end of the eighth century occurred the return of Chitravāhana II to Udayapura. Ranasāgara obviously had no intentions of surrendering the throne to the prodigal home-comer and instead decided to stage a trial of strength.

We do not know how Chitravāhana II's military strength as a conqueror compared with that of Ranasāgara as the defender. It is likely that the former's military assets had suffered a heavy loss in his battle against imperial Rāshtrakūṭa forces at Pergguñji.

The initial impact of Chitravāhana's thrust into Udayapura appears to have gained for him temporary control over the capital, without at the same time exterminating his rival
92
Ranasāgara. An inscription from Udiyāvara records the heretic



death of an eminent warrior of Chitravāhana, Kāltide by name, son of Vijāna-nāyga(nāyaka), in the battle against Rapasāgara at the time of the entry of the army of the 'Lord of the Earth' (dhareg-īsan) into Udayapura. The 'Lord of the Earth' was, no doubt, the same as Chitravāhana II whose triumph over his adversary is vouchsafed by the presence of this inscription which eulogies the valour of one of his soldiers.

Rapasāgara apparently fled, unable to defeat the designs of his rival. He was not, however, deterred by the outcome and, on his turn, attacked the city in order to wrest it from Chitravāhana II. Two inscriptions, one from Udiyāvara⁹³ and the other from Kōṭe⁹⁴, both in the Udipi Taluk, bear witness to this renewed struggle. The former records the death of one Nalimani Nāgadīkshita, who had routed the forces of Rapasāgara in the battle which ensued when the latter tried to force an entry into Udayapura.

The Kōṭe inscription records that in the battle fought on behalf of the 'Lord of the earth' (dhareg-īsan) at the time of Rapakīsara's attempted entry into Udayapura, Angupesāra Polega, the warrior of Juddhamalla, displayed great valour and fell fight-

93. SII., Vol. VII, No. 293. Saletore, in pp.87 and 171 of his History of Tuluva, follows the defective text of this inscription as given in SII., Vol. VII. For the correct reading and interpretation of the text see Appendix, No. V.

94 ARSIE., 1929, No. 505.

ing. The 'Lord of the earth' is again no doubt Chitravāhana II. Rapakīśara is obviously a mistake for Rapasāgara. Juddhamalla may have been one of the commanders or some minor prince leading the forces of Chitravāhana II. It is possible that Chitravāhana's long stay outside Tuluva had earned for him the alliance and assistance of some minor rulers of principalities adjoining South Kanara. Juddhamalla appears to have been one such.⁹⁵ Another short inscription from Udiyāvara records the death of the hero Medumāpan who was a servant (ālū) of the illustrious Śāntara. It is known that, towards the close of the ninth century, the Śāntaras established themselves as the rulers of the Śāntalige kingdom with Pombuchcha for their capital.⁹⁶ It is likely that, at the time of Chitravāhana's rule from Perungguji, Śāntara was ruling over some adjacent principality. The palaeography of the inscription strongly supports the likelihood of Chitravāhana II and Śāntara having been contemporaries. It is likely that the latter rushed to the aid of Chitravāhana II in the wake of Rapasāgara's stiff ~~war~~ resistance. The presence of Śāntara and his army in Ālūvakhēḍa is otherwise very difficult to explain. The discovery in Udiyāvara and in its vicinity of inscriptions eulogising the heroism of Chitravāhana II's soldiers suggests, by implication, the failure of Rapasāgara's bid to recapture the Ālupa capital.

95 SII., Vol. VII, No. 294.

96 vide Mysore and Coorg From the Inscriptions, pp.138-39.

The earliest known inscription of Vikrama Śāntara, who is credited with the founding of the Śāntalige kingdom, is A.D. 898 (Ep.Carn. Vol.VII, Nr. 60).

At a later stage of the civil war, however, Chitravāhana II disappears from the political arena and we find Ranasāgara once again in occupation of Udayapura with one Śvētavāhana pitted against him as his rival for the Ālupa throne. On the strength of the vāhana ending in his name, this Śvētavāhana may be considered as the son of Chitravāhana II. It is probable that Ranasāgara persisted in his efforts to regain Udayapura and at last succeeded, though epigraphs bearing witness to his final triumph over Chitravāhana II have not come down to us. Chitravāhana II was driven out of Udayapura and was, in all probability, killed in one of the encounters.

We have suggested above that Chitravāhana II and Ranasāgara, who was probably his younger brother, succeeded to the territorial possessions of their father Āluvarasa II almost at the same time, the former at Pergguñji outside Tuluva and the latter at Udayapura, the native capital of the Ālupas. They were thus close contemporaries.

Since it has been suggested above that Āluvarasa II may have ended his reign in about 765 A.D., and since Chitravāhana II's expulsion from Pergguñji could not have taken place earlier than 792 A.D., the year of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III's accession, the reign period of Chitravāhana II may be tentatively assigned to about 765-800 A.D.

During Āluvarasa II's reign, the Ālupas lost their hold over Kadamba-maṇḍala. During the troubled^u reign of Chitravāhana II,

Ajupa possessions suffered a further loss. Yet, not all the Pombuchcha region was lost to them as a result of their expulsion from Pergguñji. They were still masters of a part of that region, including the city of Pombuchcha.

Rapasāgara and Śvētavāhana

The exit of Chitravāhana II did not leave Rapasāgara in peace and without a rival. An inscription⁹⁷ from Udiyāvāra records the death of the hero Kāmakōḍa, son of Viñja Prahārabhūshana and a servant of Rapasāgara, in a battle at the time of Śvētavāhana's attempted entry into Udayapura. We find in this inscription Rapasāgara bearing the epithet Paṭṭi-odeyon (i.e. the chief of Paṭṭi which is the same as Pombuchcha) indicating thereby that, at the death of Chitravāhana II, he came to consider himself the sole ruler of all his father's possessions minus, of course, the Pergguñji region.

Another inscription⁹⁸ from Udiyāvāra itself, however, reveals that subsequently Śvētavāhana did get the better of Rapasāgara and secure entry into Udayapura. This inscription, without mentioning who the defeated adversary was, records the death of one Dēvu in the battle which was fought at the time of Śvētavāhana's entry into Udayapura. The mention only of

97 Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 18-19, No. II and plate.

98 Ibid., p. 19, No. III and plate.

Śvētavāhana and the presence of this hero-stone in Udiyāvāra itself clearly indicate that Śvētavāhana was successful in his efforts. Rapaśāgara was, in all probability, killed in one of these battles for supremacy, for, we not only do not hear any more of him in inscriptions, but find, on the other hand, one Pṛithvī-sāgara engaged in the next phase of the civil war for the Ālupa throne.

It has been suggested above that, like Chitravāhana II, Rapaśāgara too may have succeeded his father Āluvarasa II in about 765 A.D. Since we find Rapaśāgara engaged in battles with Śvētavāhana, who was probably the son of Chitravāhana II, who, according to us, may have ended his reign in about 800 A.D., Rapaśāgara himself may be tentatively considered to have ruled until about 805 A.D.

With the exit of Rapaśāgara from the scene of this dynastic civil war, a new generation of rival princes, Śvētavāhana and Pṛithvīśāgar⁹⁹, are found contending for the Ālupa throne. An undated inscription⁹⁹, also from Udiyāvāra, and, palaeographically belonging to the same period as the other Udiyāvāra inscriptions discussed immediately above, records that one Palipere, son of Kandavilmudi, fell fighting in the battle which ensued at the time of the entry into Udayapura of Pṛithvīśāgara who had had himself crowned. It becomes obvious from the text of this inscription that Pṛithvīśāgara's coronation had to be

99 Ibid., pp. 19-20, No. IV and plate.

celebrated somewhere outside the capital city of Udayapura and that Udayapura itself was at that time under the control of a rival claimant, not named in the inscription. But, on palaeographical grounds and in keeping with the narrative cogency which has been sought to be put into the Ālupa history of this period in the pages above, it may be safely conjectured that Prithvisāgara's political and military manoeuvres, recorded in the above inscription from Udiyāvara, were directed against none other than Śvētavāhana himself.

Śvētavāhana and Prithvisāgara

The sāgara ending in Prithvisāgara's name suggests that he was the son of Rapasāgara. We learn from the Udiyāvara inscription referred to above that his reign started outside the capital city of Udayapura as a challenger to the authority of Śvētavāhana whom he had every reason to consider as an usurper. Śvētavāhana had, in all probability, ousted and killed Rapasāgara who may have been the father of Prithvisāgara. Prithvisāgara's first rebuff to the status of Śvētavāhana as ruler of Āluvakhēda was his coronation as the rightful sovereign of the Tulu country, which was performed outside Udayapura. His next task was to oust Śvētavāhana from Udayapura and to ensure his own position as the unrivalled occupant of the Ālupa throne. The Udiyāvara inscription which refers to his coronation also records the earliest battle he fought against his rival after the date of his coronation.

Another inscription ¹⁰⁰ from Udiyāvara, which refers to Prithvisāgara also as Alupendra, records the death of the king's servant Polokku Priyachelva at the time of the entry into Udayapura of the 'Lord of the earth' (dharaḡ-īsan). The 'Lord of the earth' mentioned in the record is none other than Prithvisāgara, who had apparently appropriated to himself even that lofty epithet which had adorned Chitravāhana II. These two inscriptions clearly show that Prithvisāgara was successful in his attempts to regain the throne on which his father had sat earlier. Svētavāhana, of whom we hear no more, was probably killed in battle by Prithvisāgara.

Svētavāhana is the third and last of the Ālupa princes whose names ended in vāhana and, if the suggestion made above that he was the son of Chitravāhana II is accepted, he becomes the last representative of the elder branch of the Ālupa ruling house. In between his victory over Rapasāgara and his defeat by Prithvisāgara, Svētavāhana may not have ruled for long and we may tentatively assign to him a reign period of 10 years from c. 805 to c. 815 A.D.

That Prithvisāgara came out victorious from this conflict is not a matter for mere conjecture but is clearly borne out by a third Udiyāvara inscription ¹⁰¹ which introduces him as ruling from the capital city of Udayapura. This inscription

100 *Ibid.*, p. 20, No. V and plate

101 *Ibid.*, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

is of importance from more than one point of study. It reveals that with the triumph of Prithvisāgara, the civil war, which had involved two generations of princes, had reached its end. It states, for the first time, that the Ālupas belonged to the lunar race (Sōma-vāṁś-ōdbhava). Again, after the Shiggaon plates of Vijayāditya and the Polali-Ammunaje inscription discussed above, this is the earliest record to associate the Ālupas with the dynastic name Pāṇḍya by referring to Prithvisāgara as Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya. It also refers to him as Āluvarasa, thus making him the third of that name.

This inscription records that during Bōygavavarma's headmanship of the district (nāṭṭu-mudime), Prithvisāgara alias Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya alias Āluvarasa (III), confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls both on water and on land levied in the cities of Paṭṭi and Udayapura to four persons, namely, Siṅgadatta, son of Udayapura-nāyaga, Kumāra Erega, Rapavikrama-nāyaga and Kappachi, son of Sandavarada. Bōygavarma was apparently administering the region around the city of Udayapura. Udayapura-nāyaga, given as the name of Siṅgadatta's father, may also stand for the nāyaka of Udayapura i.e., an officer in charge of the administration of the capital. The gift of a part of the tolls collected at Paṭṭi, which is the same as Pombuchcha, suggests that inspite of Chitravāhana II's expulsion from Pergguñji, the Ālupas were able to retain effective control over a part of their possessions beyond the Ghāṭs including Pombuchcha.

No dated references to Prithvisāgara alias Āḷuvarasa III have come down to us. With the end of the civil war, a long period of peace set in throughout the Āḷupa kingdom. Prithvisāgara may have ruled from about 810 to about 840 A.D. It must be remembered in this connection that his coronation resulted in the Āḷupa kingdom having two rulers for a brief period until Prithvisāgara triumphed over his rival. He was succeeded on the throne by Māramma alias Āḷuvarasa IV.

Māramma

Māramma was in all probability the son of Prithvisāgara. He inherited from his father not only the territorial possessions but also a reign of peace. He was left alone without a rival and also without a master. There were no invasions from outside to threaten his safety and status.

Four inscriptions of his have come down to us, all of them from Udiyāvara. Their contents pertain to matters of administration and grants, thus bearing witness to the peace and prosperity of his reign.

102
One of these inscriptions mentions the king merely as Māramma Āḷvarasar and appears to refer to one Karasī-nāyga as the administrator of Koḷala-nakara which has been identified with Koḷala-giri, a village in the South Kanara district.¹⁰³

102 SIH., Vol. VII, No. 283.

103 Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p.79

The record also mentions Odevura-nakara which is the same as the capital city of Udayapura. We have pointed out earlier in this chapter, while discussing Chālukya Kīrttivarman's conquest of Āḷuka = Āḷupa, that Saletore's contention¹⁰⁴ that this Māramma-Āḷuvarasar was Kīrttivarman's Āḷupa contemporary is absolutely untenable. The palaeographical features of this inscription clearly betray the fact that it belongs only to the middle of the ninth century.

The second inscription¹⁰⁵, besides naming the ruler as Māramma Āḷuvarasar, also calls him Vijayāditya-Āḷupendra and Uttama-Pāṇḍya. While the last name was borne by Māramma's father Prithvīśāgara also, the name Vijayāditya is applied to him for the first time even as was the case with the name of Udayāditya borne by Prithvīśāgara. The imperial powers of the Deccan were, at this time, engaged in their own affairs and wars and the resultant sense of security and independence appears to have prompted Māramma to assume high-sounding imperial titles. For, this record glorifies him as Paramēśvara and Adhirājarāja. Like the Udiyāvara inscription of his predecessor, this record describes the king as belonging to the lunar race.

It records the confirmation of the gift of tolls collected in the cities of Pombulcha and Udayapura on grains, cotton, areca-nuts and pepper to four persons. The inscription

104 Ibid., pp. 79 ff.

105 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 22, No. VII and plate.

ends with the statement that it was written by Raṇadhāri.

Māramma is the fourth of the known Ālupa kings to have had the name of Āluvarasa. The third inscription¹⁰⁶ belonging to his reign omits the name Māramma but gives all the others, namely, Vijayāditya Ālupēndra, Uttama-Pāṇḍya and Āluvar^asa. The lunar race to which the king belonged as also the sovereign titles of Paramēśvara and Ahiraṇjanāja are repeated in this inscription. It records that, during Arakella's headmanship of the district, the king confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls levied in the cities of Ponbūlcha and Udayapura to six persons who were agricultural tenants (okkalu). Arakella was apparently governing an administrative division around Udayapura.

The fourth Udiyāvāra inscription¹⁰⁷ is much worn out. But the name of the king can be made out as Māramm-Ālvarasar. The record is also incomplete but it seems to record the grant of lands by the padineṭṭu-naṭṭana. The land was situated to the east of the village which is not named (ūra-pūrvada-keyi). The record once again mentions the padineṭṭu-naṭṭana and a certain Ujvalanāyaga probably as the bounden protectors of the grant. Though this inscription does not endow sovereign titles to the ruler and gives him only the honorific srī, it refers to his rule over the earth (prithvī-rāja) thus suggesting that Māramma

106 Ibid., p. 23 and plate.

107 This inscription has not been noticed anywhere.

I have, however, examined the impression lying with the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

was an independent ruler.

That the tolls levied and granted included those from Pombuchcha shows that Māramma had inherited from his father the Pombuchcha region beyond the Ghāṭs in addition to the native Ālupa kingdom. Even as Chitravāhana I's reign was one of glory and achievements, Māramma's was one of peace and prosperity, as is clearly borne out by his inscriptions. Since we have suggested above that Prithvisāgara may have ended his reign in about 840 A.D., his successor Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV may have reigned from about 840 to 870 A.D.

This will be the proper place to discuss an undated
108 inscription from Banṭra, a village in the Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara district. The characters and language of the inscription belong to the archaic Kannada variety and are in conformity with contemporaneous records from the adjacent areas. Though it is not in any way dated, it could be assigned, on
109 grounds of palaeography, to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. As is usual with such early records from South Kanara, the letters

108 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 351

109 vide Ibid., where it has been assigned to the eighth century A.D. The above discussion on the Banṭra inscription is based on my article being edited in the pages of Ep. Ind. Saletore (History of Tuluva, pp. 252-53) has made some inaccurate observations on the contents of this epigraph.

do not all of them fall into one particular palaeographical period, some like ya and la showing earlier characteristics and others like la and ka and, in some instances, ya betraying later developments. Nevertheless, the record does bear^o comparison, in general, with Kannaḍa records of the said period discovered in South Kanara itself as also in the adjacent regions and, in particular, with the three inscriptions of Māraṁma alias Aḷuvarasa IV discussed above.

The inscription records a political agreement entered into by four persons, namely, king Nṛipamallārāja, an unnamed Katambha ruler, Rāchamallan-Dugarāja, the beloved brother of Viḷarittaliyarasa and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja, the son of Balle- (or Valle-) Oḍeya. The treaty was to the effect that the parties concerned would, in the times to come, discontinue mutual enmity (paḡa), vengeance (paḷi) and fights (saḡa).

The record commences with the auspicious word svasti and immediately refers to the reign of Nṛipamallārāja who is eulogised therein as rāja-kul-āmbhar-āditya and satya-saucha-vinay-āchāra-sampanna. The passage which follows immediately refers to the universal reign (prithvī-rāja) of a ruler whose name it fails to give but who is eulogised as sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ālam-kṛita and Katambha-kul-ōdbhava. The inscription then records that these two rulers and Rāchamallan-Dugarāja and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja met in the temple at Sādanūra and, in the presence of witnesses, who are named and who included the physician of Sādanūra and those who arrange for service like playing instrumental music by turns in the temple, concluded

the treaty which has been referred to above.

South Kanara was, during the period to which this record belongs, in all probability, under the sway of Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV. Sovereign titles such as Paramāśvara and Ahīrājarāja which he had assumed show that Māramma was the most powerful ruler of South Kanara in his times. It is not improbable, therefore, that Nṛipamallārāja and the unnamed Katambha ruler were his subordinates. It is difficult to say, in the present state of our knowledge, if the Katambha-kula was in anyway related to the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty. As for Rāchamalla-Dugarāja and Narasīṅga-Dugarāja, they appear to have been princes of two minor houses of which Vīṣṇu-rattāḷiyarasa and Balle-oḍeya were the ruling members at the time of the conclusion of the treaty.

In all probability, these four rulers were administering adjacent bits of tracts within the Ālupa kingdom as feudatories of Māramma. The absence of any reference to the Ālupa ruler does not preclude the possibilities suggested above for, during the Vijayanagara period, when such treaties become more numerous in South Kanara, the inscriptions do not generally mention the Vijayanagara emperors though the Tulu country formed a permanent and important part of the empire.

110 See, for instance, ARSIE., 1927-28, App. B, Nos. 385-86, 391-94; ibid., 1930-31, App. B, Nos. 336, 339 and 341.

Strangely enough, the Ālupas of this period appear to have been involved with the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. We do not, however, know if this relationship was friendly or inimical. We have seen that the Banṭra inscription of the period of Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV mentions Rāchamallan-Dugarāja. Rāchamalla is a name common among the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ and is the same as Rājamalla. Even the name Nṛipamalla occurring in the above record is only a variant of this Rājamalla.

It is in this context that an undated inscription from Poḷali in Mangalore Taluk gains in importance. While reporting ¹¹¹ this inscription it was observed- "States that Arākoli entered fire becoming a victim of calumny at Talakāḍu. The memorial stone in his honour was set up by Palyavaṇa and Malalop-daiya." It will be shown presently that the above remarks are entirely wrong.

The inscription is to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the second half of the ninth century. Its writing very closely resembles the inscription⁸ of Māramma and the Banṭra inscription discussed above. It states that Palyavaṇa-Āli-gāṇapa, on hearing of the death of ¹¹² Sēbya Arākellān at Tale-kāḍu, entered the fire (and died) and that the memorial stone was set up by . . . dhuru (an inhabitant) of Malalokkeiyūru.

111 ARIE., 1951-52, App. B, No. 152

112 As a family name, the word Kella is of considerable antiquity and prevalent even outside South Kanara. Cf. ARIE.,

We have seen above that one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions of Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV refers to one Arakella as the headman of the district, probably the region around the capital city of Udayapura. The Poḷali record refers to one Śēbya-Arākella. It is very likely that Arakella and Śēbya-Arākella were the names of one and the same person. It is interesting to note that two inscriptions, one from Vēnūr in Karkala Taluk and the other from Uḷipāḍi in Mangalore Taluk, refer to the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Sēvyagella in the first quarter of the 12th century. Kella appears to have been the name of a minor ruling family in South Kanara and has survived as a surname to this day in that region.

From the Poḷali inscription, it may be concluded that Arakella or Śēbya-Arākella had gone to the Western Gaṅga capital of Talakāḍu and there, under circumstances which we have no means of knowing, had met with his death. Palyavapa Aḷigānapa was probably one of his trusted servants and unable to bear the news of his master's death, sacrificed his own life by entering fire.

The Western Gaṅgas of this period were up in rebellion against the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹¹³ It may be that they had gained

1963-64, App. A, No. 10. In this copper plate inscription from Honavar, North Kanara District, Chitrasēna, a Kaikeya ruler of the 6th century A.D., calls himself a kella and mahākella.

113 A History of South India, p. 154

the assistance of the Ālupas in holding their own against imperial retaliations. The Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Ālupa kingdom, to which reference will be made by and by, seems to lend significant support to this suggestion of a Ālupa-Western Gaṅga alliance. It may also be noted here that the Ālupas and the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ both contracted marital alliances with the Śāntaras of Śāntalige-1000 in the centuries which followed.

It is surprising that the peaceful reign of Māramma is followed by almost a century of uncertaintyⁱⁿ Ālupa history. The next time we meet with an inscription ~~of~~ expressly belonging to the reign of an Ālupa king is only in 968 A.D. to which year the Kadirī inscription¹¹⁴ of Kundavarma belongs. Contrary to expectations, the names of the immediate successors of Māramma as also the immediate predecessors of Kundavarma have to be dug out of inscriptions of an uncertain nature or from inscriptions discovered in areas adjacent to South Kanara.

However, a fragmentary inscription¹¹⁵ from Nidugundi in Bankapur Taluk, Dharwar District, Mysore state, throws some light on an event which may have brought about this political eclipse in South Kanara. This inscription, which seems to record the grant of compensation (*pariyāra*), probably to some warrior killed in battle, is broken off at the beginning,

114 SII., Vol. VII, No. 191

115 ARSIE., B.K. No. 26 of 1943-44

the name of the king as also the date being entirely lost.
The available parts of lines 5-7 read -

5 śrīmad-Indapayyaṃ Bana-
6 mu Ālvakhēdam-aru-sāvi-
7 ttu Neḍugundage panneradara

It will be shown below that Indapayya served as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 under Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I and Kṛishna II. Therefore, in the above text, Bana obviously is to be taken as Banavāsi-12000 and ttu as āluttu (i.e. while ruling over). Indapayya would thus become the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 as also Ālvakhēda-6000.

On palaeographical grounds, the Niḍugundi inscription is to be assigned to the second half of the ninth century. We find Indapayya mentioned in two more inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas. ¹¹⁶ Of these, one is from Hoṭṭūr, Shiggaon Taluk, Dharwar District. It is undated but belongs to the reign of Nṛīpatuṅga. On palaeographical grounds, this Nṛīpatuṅga is to be identified with Amōghavarsha I (814-880 A.D.). The record states that Samadhigata-pañchamahāsabha, Sāmant-ādhipati ¹¹⁷ Indapayya was governing Banavāsi-12000. The other inscription, which is

116 ARSIE., --1943-44, B.K. No. 10

117 SIL., Vol. XI, part I, No. 20.

from Soratūr, Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District and which belongs to the reign of Akālavārsha Kṛishṇa II (880-915 A.D.), the son and successor of Amōghavarsha I, is dated Śaka 805, Śōbhakṛit = 883 A.D. and refers to Indapayya as administering the nāḍu by which may have been meant Purigere-nāḍu within which the find-spot of the record, Soratūr, was situated or, more likely, Banavāsi-nāḍu itself. In view of the unusually long reign of Amōghavarsha I and in view of Indapayya's mention in 883 A.D. in a record belonging to the subsequent reign, it may be safely concluded that Indapayya served under the Rāshtrakūṭas during the last years of Amoghavarsha I's rule and during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. The damaged inscription from Nidugundi would thus belong either to the last years of Amoghavarsha I's reign or to the early years of the reign of his successor.

The reference in the Nidugundi record to Indapayya as the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 and Ālvakhēḍa-6000 is of the utmost importance to the history of South Kanara. We have seen above that high-sounding titles such as Paramēśvara and Adhirājarāja were borne by Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV. It is very likely that Māramma ended his reign as an independent ruler.

On the basis of the Nidugundi record, it may be concluded that sometime after Māramma's death, either towards the end of Amōghavarsha's reign or during the early years of Kṛishṇa II's reign, Ālvakhēḍa was invaded and subjected to Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy. It is otherwise impossible to explain the role of Indapayya as the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 and Ālvakhēḍa-6000.

It is likely that the Ālupas had incurred the wrath of the Rāshtrakūṭas by their alliance with the Gaṅgas. While under the Bādāmi Chālukyas, the Ālupas were ruling not only over Āluvakhēḍa but also over Banavāsi-12000, the Governor of Banavāsi-12000 is found ruling over Āluvakhēḍa also under the Rāshtrakūṭas. Thus the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭas which had ceased at the time of Chitravāhana II's expulsion from the Pergguñji fort is found reestablished towards the end of the ninth century, though, as will be seen below, only for a brief period.

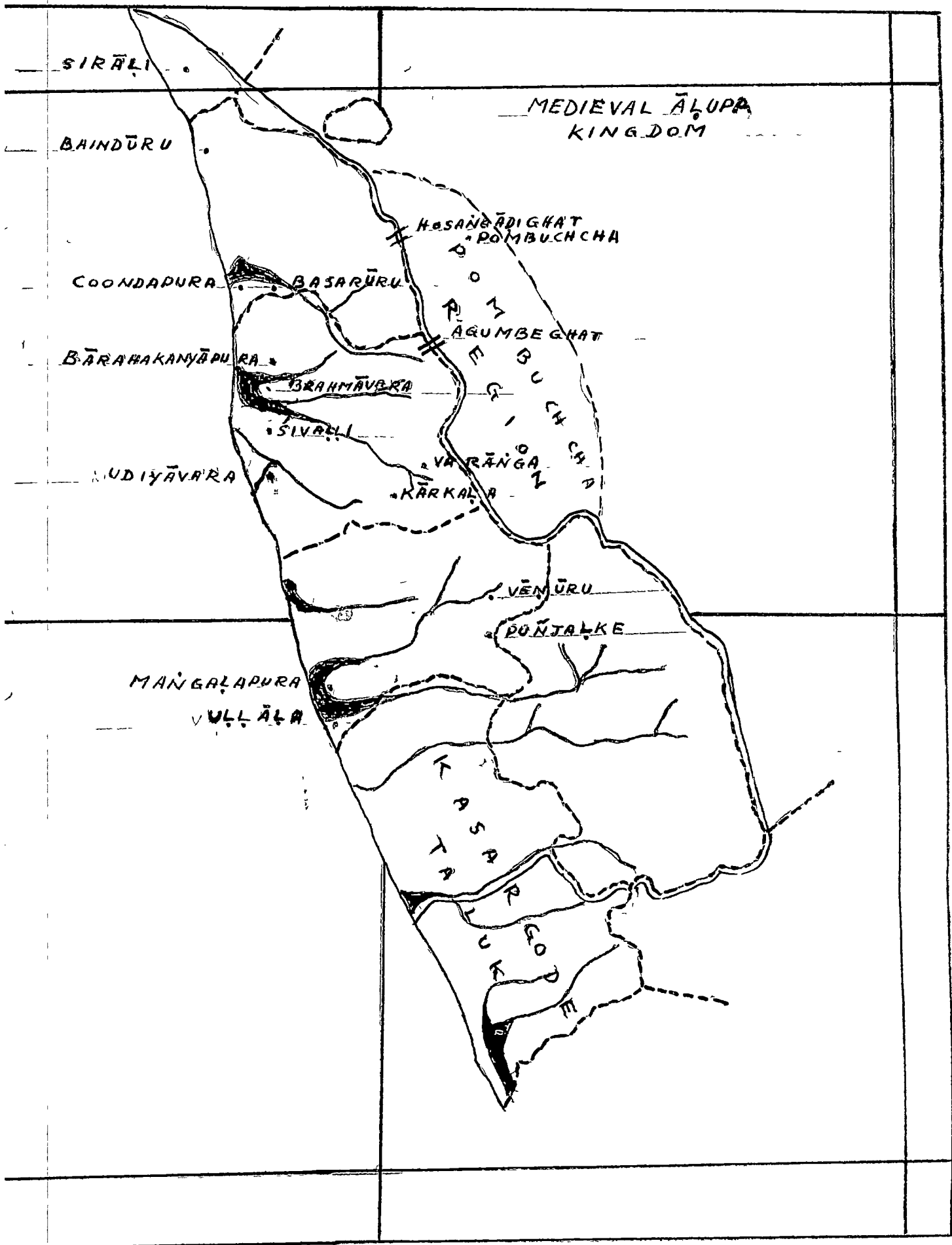
The identity of the Ālupa ruler who had to face this Rāshtrakūṭa invasion can not be fixed beyond doubt. Nevertheless, an undated and mostly illegible stone inscription¹¹⁸ in the Anantēsvara temple at Udipi, headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, provides us with a plausible answer to this question. This record is so indifferently engraved that it has not been possible to make out its exact readings and purport. The figure, in relief, of a crowned male figure with a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left and, perhaps, a sheath hanging from his hip, suggests that the inscription is a hero-stone commemorating the death of a hero.

The characters, though indifferently engraved, may be confidently assigned to the second half of the ninth century on grounds of palaeography. The formation of letters has

much in common with the inscriptions of the Ālupa king Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV. It seems to record the death of a hero, whose name was Vimalāditya, wrongly engraved as Vimulāditya, or in a battle during the reign of this Vimalāditya. The record seems to eulogise the deceased warrior as raṇa-mūṇṇa, probably meaning 'eminent in war' and seems to record some grant made in his honour.

There is no direct evidence in the text of this inscription to show that it belongs to the reign of an Ālupa king. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the last two Ālupa rulers discussed above, viz., Prithvisāgara and Māramma, bore the secondary names of Udayāditya and Vijayāditya respectively, it may be suggested here that Vimalāditya may have belonged to the Ālupa family and was, perhaps, the successor of Māramma alias Āluvarasa IV. If this is accepted, Vimalāditya would be the Ālupa ruler during whose reign Ālvakhēḍa was conquered by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. As will be seen in the pages to come, the Ālupas were not extinguished as a ruling house by the invaders but appear to have ruled as feudatories for some generations. The title Sāmantādhipati given to Indapayya is interesting in this light.

Nothing definite can be said about the period of Vimalāditya's reign. If, as has been suggested above, he succeeded Māramma in about 870 A.D., he may be deemed to have reigned till the end of the ninth century.



Amoghavarsha I was of spiritual temperament and, what is more, his long reign was beset with internal revolts. His son and successor Kṛishṇa II, on the other hand, frequently indulged in military exploits, though mostly without success. The Rāshtrakūṭa invasion should, therefore, be better placed in the reign of Kṛishṇa II and also towards the very end of the ninth century.

It was during this period that the Ālupas suffered the loss of their only extra-Tuluva possession, that part of the Pombuchcha region which they had retained even in the wake of Chitravāhana II's defeat at Pergguñji. Sometime towards the close of the ninth century, this region became a part of the newly carved out kingdom of Śāntālige-1000 which thenceforward came under the sway of the Śāntaras. The earliest Śāntara¹¹⁹ inscription from Humcha (i.e. ancient Pombuchcha) is dated Śaka 820 = A.D. 898 and belongs to the reign of Vikrama-Śāntara, the founder of the Śāntālige-1000 kingdom. Thus, the final confinement of the Ālupas to the limits of South Kanara, which, as we had pointed out above, was set in motion at the battle of Pergguñji towards the close of the 8th century, came about towards the end of the 9th century.

Yet another Ālpa^u ruler is brought to light by an inscription¹²⁰ from Humcha, Nagar Taluq, Shimoga District, dated in Śaka 999, Piṅgaḷa = A.D. 1077 and belonging to the reign of the Kalyāṇi Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI. This inscrip-

119 Ep. Carn., Vol.VIII, Nr. 60.

120 Ibid., Vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

tion contains a detailed genealogical account of the Śāntara rulers from its progenitor Rāha upto Nanni Śāntara, the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. It states that Chāgi Śāntara, son of Vikrama Śāntara and Lakshmīdēvi, daughter of Kāmadēva, the king of Banavāsī, married Eñjaladēvi, the daughter of Raṇaṇjaya, the Ālva ruler. To this Chāgi Śāntara and Eñjaladēvi was born Vīra Śāntara.

Vikrama Śāntara, the father of Chāgi Śāntara, is stated in the above inscription to have consolidated the kingdom of Śāntalige-1000. He is represented by two dated records. The earlier¹²¹ of them, from the same village of Humcha, is dated Śaka 820 = A.D. 898 and records the construction of a basadi and certain gifts made for its maintenance. The second inscription,¹²² from Sālūr, Shikarpur Taluq, Shimoga District, is dated Śaka 825, Dundhubhi = A.D. 903 during the reign of Kannara-Vallabha i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II (880-915 A.D.). Both these inscriptions refer to the Śāntara ruler as Vikramāditya-Śāntara and the second record further reveals that he was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Since, according to the Humcha inscription of 1077 A.D., Chāgi Śāntara married Eñjaladēvi, her father Raṇaṇjaya, the Ālva king, may be deemed to have ruled contemporaneously with Chāgi-Śāntara's father Vikrama^o or Vikramāditya-Śāntara and with Chāgi-Śāntara himself. This would place Ālva Raṇaṇjaya in the first half of the tenth century. He may have ruled from about 900 A.D. to about 930 A.D., perhaps as the direct successor to Vimalāditya.

121 Ibid., Nr. 60

122 Ibid., Vol. VII, Sk. 284.

We have seen above that Vikramāditya-Śāntara was a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. It has also been shown above that towards the end of the ninth century, the Ālupas were subjugated by the Rāshtrakūṭas when, in all probability, Vimalāditya was the ruling Ālupa king. The marital alliance between the Śāntaras of Śāntalige-1000 and the Ālupas of this period would suggest that the latter continued to be subject to Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy even during Rapañjaya's reign.

Rapañjaya was, in all probability, succeeded by Datt-¹²³ Ālupa. Saletore places one Dattālpēndra-Śrīmāra as the successor and predecessor of Rapañjaya and Kundavarma respectively and assigns his undated inscription ¹²⁴ from Mūdakēri in Bārakūru, Udipi Taluq, to about 959 A.D. As will be shown below, this inscription should be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a much later period, and, therefore, this Dattālpēndra is only a later Ālupa ruler of the thirteenth century bearing the same first name of Datta.

The reign of Datt-Ālupa, who actually succeeded Rapañjaya, is, on the other hand, brought to light by an interesting stanza in the Kadiri inscription of Kundavarma already referred to. This stanza reads:-

123 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 93.

124 SII., Vol. VII, No. 314.

Datt-Ālupaṁ nirākṛitya
balād-viśvāsa-ghātinam |
rājyaṁ svabhūja-vīryvēṇa
grihītam yēna mānina || 125

"By whom, setting aside the traitor Datt-Ālupa by force, the kingdom was obtained by the strength of his own arms." It will be seen below that this achievement is credited to Kundavarma to whose reign the Kadiri inscription belongs.

It is obvious, from a study of the above stanza, that Datt-Ālupa had actually reigned. We may safely conclude that he ignored the claims of Kundavarma for the Ālupa throne at the time of selecting a successor. This situation, as also the stanza quoted above, inevitably remind one of the Bādāmi Chālukya emperor Maṅgalēśa's attempts at ignoring Pulakēśin II's claims for the throne and the bitter civil war which ensued as a result. 126 It may be that Datt-Ālupa, like Maṅga-
lēśa, was only a brother of his predecessor - on the throne, Ālva Rapañjaya, and that he wanted to appropriate the throne

125 Ibid., No. 191. In the published text, the reading given is dattā bhūpaṁ nirākṛitya etc., which makes no sense. The inked estampage lying with the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, clearly shows Datt-Ālupaṁ etc.

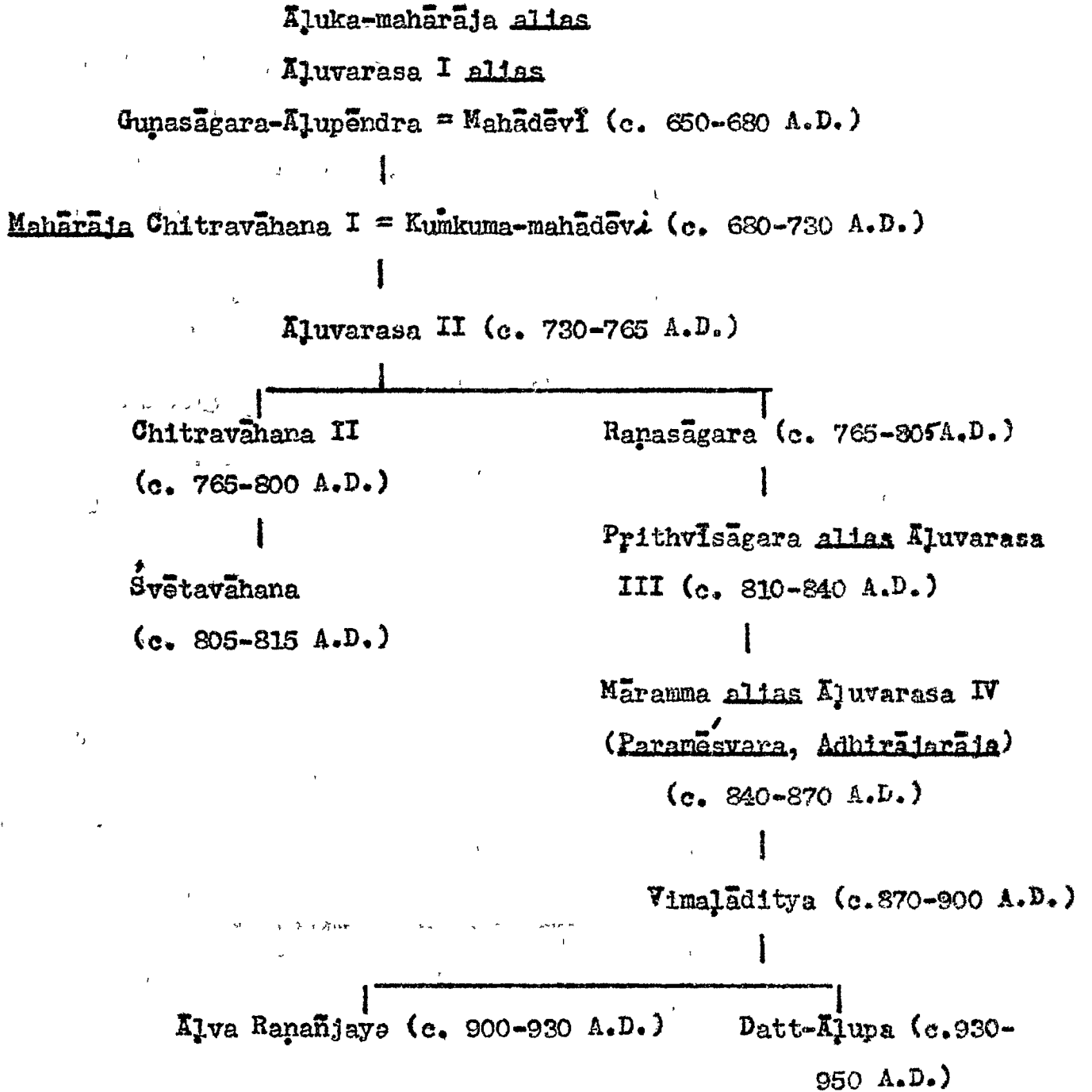
126 Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 5 and 9, verses 14 and 15.

for his own direct issue at the expense of Kundavarma. The villification of Datt-Ālupa as visvāsa-ghātin, and the claim of Kundavarma that he took the kingdom from him by force (bālāt), lend overwhelming support to the above suggestion. The dynastic name Ālupa borne by Datta further proves that the war of succession was confined only to the members of that ruling house.

No records belonging to Dattālupa's reign have come down to us. Since his reign appears to have been cut short by Kundavarma he may be taken to have reigned from about 930 A.D. to about 950 A.D. Datt-Ālupa was succeeded on the throne by Kundavarma.

The reign of Kundavarma marks a new beginning in Ālupa history. We have seen above that of the eleven reigns discussed so far, dated references are available only for the first four reigns, those of Ālugarasa I, Chitravāhana I, Ālugarasa II and Chitravāhana II. All these dated references are, however, found in records discovered outside the bounds of South Kanara. On the other hand, the Kadiri and Vēpūr inscriptions of Kundavarma are both dated and are followed by dated inscriptions in large numbers. It is in order to lay stress on this important distinction in epigraphical source-material available in South Kanara that the next chapter of this thesis, on the medieval history of the Ālupas, is commenced with the reign of Kundavarma though his known date of A.D. 967-68 is not late enough to be called medieval.

The genealogical tree of the Ālupas whose reigns have been discussed above is given below:



Q. m. f. ...
...
...

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MEDIEVAL ĀLUPAS

KUNDAVARMA

The earliest dated inscriptions from South Kanara, two in number, belong to the reign of Kundavarma Ālupēndra, the nephew and successor of Datt-Ālupa. Of these, the latter inscription from the Mañjunātha temple at Kadirī, Mangalore Taluk, which has already been referred to, is written in Sanskrit verse and grantha characters and is both important and interesting.

This inscription consists of nine stanzas, all of them in the Anushtubh metre. Verses 7 and 8 give the date as the Kali year 4068, after the expiry of nine months (i.e. in Makara), when guru was in Kanyārāśi, during the latter part of the day when the nakshatra was Rōhipī. Though the given details of date are insufficient for verification, the intended date most probably is Monday, the 13th of January, 968 A.D. Stanza No. 6 introduces the king Kundavarma-Ālupēndra as of good qualities, as the 'Lord of the earth' (mahīpati), and as a bee at the lotus feet of Lord Śiva (Bālachandra-sikhāmani). Stanzas 1 to 5 are in praise of the ruler. They state, among other things, that he was like a glowing sun to the lotus that was the Lunar race (Sōmavamsa); that the earth was protected by the strength of his arms;

that he had renounced the sin of drinking; that his character was ennobled by (the establishment of) agrahāras for brāhmaṇas; that he set aside the traitor Datt-Ālupa and took from him, by force, the kingdom; that he was like Karṇa in charity, like Arjuna in valour, like Indra in wealth and like Brihaspati in knowledge. Stanza No. 9 records that, on the date referred to above, this Kundavarma installed the image of Lōkēśvara at Kadirikā.

This image of Lōkēśvara has been identified elsewhere² with Bōdhisatva Avalōkitēśvara of the Buddhist pantheon on the strength of the iconographic features of the said image. But, neither before nor after the reign of Kundavarma do we come across any reference in available Ālupa inscriptions to Buddhism and Buddhist deities. What is more, the Kadiri inscription extols Kundavarma as Bāla-chandra-sikhā-manēḥ pādāryvinda-bhramarāḥ i.e. the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva, Bālachandra-sikhā-maṇi being only an epithet of Śiva. The image of Lōkēśvara is, therefore, very likely to be that of Śiva. The Buddhist iconographic features

2 Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Vol. I, p. 84; Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p. 383. While unhesitatingly identifying Lōkēśvara with Bōdhisatva Avalōkitēśvara, Saletore, in the same breath, says that Kundavarma was 'thoroughly Śaivite in his faith' and that Bālachandrasikhāmaṇi was a Śaivite ascetic (ibid., p. 401).

of the image may be attributed to the influence of Buddhism on Śaivism; in this connection, the nātha-pāṁtha of Gōrakh-nāth may be taken as an example. It is known that this nātha-pāṁtha was deeply influenced by Buddhism.³ The naming of the Kadirī temple after Mañjunātha, referred to as such as early as in an inscription⁴ of Pāṇḍyamahādēvi, of the 12th century, must be attributed to the continued prevalence of some sect of Śaivism, influenced by Buddhism, at Kadirī.

⁵
The other dated inscription, which comes from Vēpūr, Kārkāḷa Taluk, is incomplete and the name of the king is lost. It is, however, dated Śaka 890, Prabhava = A.D. 967-968, thus leaving no doubt as to the fact that it belonged to the reign of Kundavarma. It ascribes to the ruler the interesting epithet mīna-lanchchhan-ōpēta, thus bringing closer the dynastic names of Ālupa and Pāṇḍya. The association of the Ālupas with the latter dynastic name has already been discussed. The other epithets borne by the king are satya-saucha-āchāra, naya-vinaya, Vīra-Lakshmi-vāsa-vakshasthāḷa and bhṛitya-chintāmapī. After this, the writing is lost. No other records either belonging or assignable to the reign of Kundavarma have come down to us. We may tentatively assign a reign period of 30 years to Kundavarma from about 950 A.D. to about 980 A.D.

3 Barṛth: Religions of India, p. 213

4 This inscription is included in App. B of ARIE for 1964-65, still under preparation.

5 SII., Vol. VII, No. 253.

Though the two available inscriptions of Kundavarma do not ascribe sovereign titles to him, it is unlikely that he was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory Indapayya's rule over Ālvakhēḍa is only a stray instance and suggests the short life of their supremacy over the Ālupa kingdom. The period subsequent to the end of Indra III's reign in 927 A.D. and before the accession of Kṛishṇa III in 939 A.D. was marked by internecine feuds in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire which must have resulted in the weakening of the central power at Mānyakhēṭa.⁶ During the period of this confusion, and probably during the reign of Datt-Ālupa himself, the Ālupas had declared their independence. Kundavarma was, in all probability, succeeded by Jayasimha I.

Jayasimha I

This ruler is represented by an undated inscription⁷ from Talangere, Kasargode Taluk, now in Kerala State. As for its date, the learned editor of this inscription observes: "The specimens of the Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha

6 A History of South India, II edn., p. 170.

7 ARIE., 1952-53, App. B, No. 284.

8 Ep.Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 203-04.

inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayēndiram Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya⁹ and the Kannāḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvihosūr inscription of Śaka 884¹⁰ and the Sogal inscription of the reign of Taila II: Śaka 902.¹¹

That the Grantha and the Kannāḍa scripts of the inscription under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the 10th century A.D. leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period."

It should, however, be pointed out that the Kannāḍa scripts in the above inscription also bear marked resemblance to the Kannāḍa scripts in the records of the early decades of the eleventh century, e.g., the Kulenur inscription¹² of Jayasīṃha II : Śaka 950. The Talāṅgere record may thus be assigned to the end and the beginning of the 10th and 11th centuries respectively.

The Sanskrit verse, with which the inscription commences, traces the descent of king Jayasīṃha to Gautama, his son Śaradvat, his brother Śantanu, his son Kṛipa and, after many other kings had adorned the lineage, Śalya. Jayasīṃha, to whose victorious reign the inscription makes a reference, is described as the crest-jewel among the Kshatriyas and as the

9 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

10 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 285 ff. and plate.

11 Ibid., pp. 1 ff. and plate.

12 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 329 ff. and plate.

abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The inscription then records the gift, made by the king, of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to one Mōchabbarasi as kanyādāna i.e. gift to a damsel. This land was barren and rocky and was converted into a fertile field by Mōchabbarasi. She constructed a house there, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. Towards the end, the record declares that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female issues in the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve and not on the male children; and that, in case there were no female offsprings, the right will pass to the male children.

The inscription itself does not help us in ascertaining the family to which Jayasimha belonged. But in view of the gap which otherwise follows the reign of Kundavarma and also in view of the fact that an Ālupa king ruling during the end and the beginning of the eleventh and twelfth centuries also had the name of Jayasimha and, above all, in view of the fact that South Kanara was under Ālupa sway both before and after the period to which the Talangere inscription belongs, Jayasimha may be safely considered as a member of the Ālupa family and as Kundavarma's successor.

Since it has been suggested above that Kundavarma may have ended his reign in about 980 A.D., we may assign a period of about 30 years from about 980 A.D. to about 1010 A.D. for the reign of his successor Jayasimha I.

The absence of paramount titles has been taken else-

where as an indication of Jayasīma's subordination either to the Rāshtrakūṭas or to the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. This view does not seem to be correct. It has been shown above that Jayasīma's predecessor Kundavarma called himself mahīpati ('Lord of the Earth') and that the Ālupas appear to have utilised the weakening of the Rāshtrakūṭa power after the death of Indra III in 927 A.D. to declare their own independence even during the reign of Datt-Ālupa. We have nothing on record to show that the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas ever interested themselves in the Ālupa kingdom prior to the reign of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126).

On the other hand, danger came to the Ālupas at this time from an unexpected quarter, the Chōḷas of the Tamil country. In the year A.D. 985, the Chōḷa throne came to be occupied by Rājarāja I who, during his reign for the next three decades, inaugurated a period of unprecedented greatness, social as well as military, in the history of South India. In the course of his many conquests, Rājarāja did not spare the Ālupa kingdom too. His Balmuri inscription¹⁴ in Kannada, belonging to his 28th regnal year and dated Śaka 934, Paridhāvin = A.D. 1012-13, declares that when Rājarāja started on the march, his general Pañchava-mahārāja displayed the might of his arms by seizing Tuḷuva and Koṅkana, pursuing after Maleya and pushing² aside and passing over Chēra. The

¹³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, p. 207

¹⁴ Ep. Carn., III, Sr. 140.

15
famous Larger Leiden Plates of Rājarāja I, dated in his 21st
regnal year (= c. 1006 A.D.) say -

Jityā sa Pāṇḍya-Tulu-Kēraḷa-Simhalēndra-
Satyāśray-ādī-nripatīn-nija-bāhu-vīryāt |
ādāya tat-kari-turamgama-ratna-rāshtrāṇy-
āsā das=api yasasā dhavalī-chakāra ||

'Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tulu
and Kēraḷa (countries and) Simhalēndra and
Satyāśraya and others by the power of his
arm and taking possession of their elephants,
horses, gems and kingdoms, he caused to glow
all the ten quarters with his fame.'

The victorious general Pañchava-Mahārāja, who conquered,
among other countries, the Tuluva, is none other than Rājendra I,
the famous successor of Rājarāja I. An undated Ālupa ins-
cription of this period, which will be discussed in detail
presently, indicates that the Chōḷa invasion was not a mere
raid but resulted in the temporary occupation not only of the
Tulu country but of many other adjacent principalities.

Bankidēva-Ālupendra

The initiative in ridding the Ālupa kingdom and its
neighbouring regions of Chōḷa supremacy was taken by Banki-

15 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 213 ff., and plates
(Verse 31).

dēva Ajupendra. This fact is brought to light by an undated inscription¹⁶ from Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk which palaeographically belongs to the first half of the 11th century. This inscription refers to the above ruler twice and on both occasions lauds him as the nija-svāmi (de facto Lord) and declares that he established his de facto reign over the Tulu-vishaya (Tulu-vishayad-o/nij-āñneyam nilisi). Further down, the inscription records the important fact that Baṅkidēva forced the Chōla to retreat (māri-māle-vanda Chōlana dandam hem-kond-arey-aṭṭi i.e. 'having turned back and pursued the army of the Chōla who had come upon him with hostility'). The inscription also claims that the feet of Baṅkidēva were worshipped by the kings of the seven hills (maley-ēlu) and the Kombu. Of these, the former probably included the rulers of principalities on the Western Ghāts while the latter represented¹⁷ Coorg. The last 8 lines in the record are much worn out but they refer to the reign of a Śāntara king, who had placed 120 mandalikas and mahāmandalikas to the care of Baṅkideva's shoulders, over the kingdom of Śāntali-1000.

It is obvious from the contents of this record that a number of chieftains, including the Śāntara ruler, placed themselves under the leadership of Baṅkidēva in their bid to

16 SII., VII, No. 327.

17 Even to this day Coorg has retained the name of Elu-Kombu in local traditions. Also see Ep.Carn., Vol.I, Coorg Inscriptions, Revised edn., p. 1.

free their territories from the Chōla yoke. This was not an easy task and invited a fresh Chōla invasion. The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates¹⁸ of Rājendra I say that Rājendra fearlessly crossed the Sahya mountain and immediately attacked the Lord of the Kēraḷa country. The plates further say that in the fierce battle which ensued, several kings were ruined. It is learnt through other inscriptions that Rājendra's conflict with the Kēraḷa king occurred in his sixth year i.e. in 1018 A.D. The reference to Sahya and to the defeat of several kings suggests that either before or even during the conquest of Kēraḷa, Rājendra encountered the armies of Baṅki-dēva and his allies. That the war itself was staged on a bigger area than the kingdom of Kēraḷa is substantiated by the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates themselves through the claim that Rājendra annihilated the country protected by the austerities of Parasu Rāma (Bhṛigu-patēḥ tapō-rakshitām pṛithvīm chhityā⁰). Kēraḷa formed only a part of Parasu-Rāma kshētra.

The establishment of Baṅkidēva's de facto reign (niḥ-ājñā) over the Tulu country may thus be roughly assigned to about 1020 A.D. He and his allies could not have been powerful enough to have actually expelled the strong Chōlas forces. The latter may have been called in for more urgent service elsewhere for Rājendra, like his father, was a relentless conqueror.

It is not possible to identify the Śāntara ruler who

18 SII., III, pp. 383 ff. and plates (verse 96)

figures in the above inscription. During the period in question, either Ammapadēva or his son Taillapadēva was on the Śāntara throne, as will be seen below.

Another stone slab¹⁹ from Bārakūru repeats the text of the above inscription but is lost beyond the 8th line and hence reveals nothing new. We have, however, another source of information for the reign of Bankidēva in the Hūmcha inscription²⁰ of A.D. 1077 of the reign of Kalyāṇi Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and his feudatory Nanni Śāntara. This record informs us that Bīraladēvi, the daughter of the Śāntara ruler Ammapadēva, was given in marriage to Banki-yālva and that the latter gave his younger sister, Maṅkabbarasi, in marriage to Taillapadēva, son of Ammapadēva and younger brother of Bīraladēvi. We have so far only one inscription²¹ belonging to the reign of Ammapa which is dated A.D. 1007 and which mentions him as Odd-Ammapa. He was succeeded first by his son Taillapadēva and then by his grandson Bīruḡa or Vira Śāntara whose earliest known inscriptions²² belong to A.D. 1062. Thus, the Śāntara throne was occupied during the first ~~first~~ five or six decades of the eleventh century by Ammapa and his son Taillapadēva. Ammapa, who gave his daughter in marriage to Bankidēva, was the latter's elder contemporary and may have reigned from about 1000 A.D. to 1030 A.D. His son Taillapadēva, who married Bankidēva's younger sister may

19 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 328

20 *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35.

21 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 195

22 *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 47, 58, 63.

have ruled from about 1030 A.D. to 1060 A.D. Baṅkidēva's reign itself may be considered to have lasted from about 1020 A.D. to 1050 A.D. The relationship of Baṅkidēva to Jayasīma I is not stated anywhere. It is likely that he was the latter's son.

An inscription,²³ from Varāṅga in Karkala Taluk, belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara, which is the only inscription attempting to give a genealogical account of the Ālupa family, helps us in identifying the immediate successors of Baṅkidēva. It refers to the reigns of four Ālupa kings. The genealogical table gleaned from this inscription is as follows:-

Paṭṭiyodeya
|
Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya
|
Kavi Ālupa
|
Paṭṭiyodeya
Kulasēkhara Ālupa.

Saletore was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscription refers to the reigns of two Paṭṭiyodeyas. He, therefore, made Baṅkidēva the grandfather of Kavi Ālupa and introduced Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiyodeya²⁴ as the latter's only predecessor after Baṅkidēva. That portion of the Varāṅga record which

23 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 526

24 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp.98 ff.

refers to Kavi Ālupa's predecessor's reads:-

Sōma-vamsad-ol-anēka simhāsana-nantaram Paṭṭiyodeyaṁ
dharmmamam-saddharmmadim rakshisidan-allim-baliya
Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeyaṁ rāiyam-geydu etc.

It is thus clear that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya was preceded on the throne by Paṭṭiyodeya. These two names, however, do not appear to have been proper names of the two kings and it will be seen below that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya's proper name was Jaya-simha. We have also seen above that some of the early Ālupa rulers were endowed with the epithet Paṭṭiy-odeyon i.e. 'the possessor of Paṭṭi', Paṭṭi being another name for the city of Pombuchcha. Again, the reference to Kulasēkhara as Paṭṭiyodeya in the Varāṅga inscription itself clearly shows that Paṭṭiyodeya was only an epithet of the Ālupas.

The Hūmcha inscription of A.D. 1077, referred to above, says that Bīradēva or Vīra Śāntara, the son of Tailapadēva married Achaladēvi, the daughter of Āluvara. We have shown above that the earliest inscriptions of Vīra Śāntara belong to 1062 A.D. Besides Maṅkabharasi, the younger sister of Baṅkidēva, Tailapadēva had also married Keḷeyabharasi, the daughter of Gaṅga Pālayadēva and of this latter queen was born to Tailapadēva his son Vīra Śāntara. Saletore has suggested²⁵ that Achaladēvi's father was none other than

25 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva,
pp. 229 ff.

Bankidēva himself. It is, however, unlikely that Bankidēva gave his daughter in marriage to the son of his own brother-in-law. Moreover, the sōdarika custom to which Saletore alludes in this connection, is not applicable here, for the mother of Vīra Śāntara was not Bankidēva's sister Maṅkabbarasi.

It is better, on the other hand, to identify Ālvara, father of Achaladēvi, with Paṭṭiyodeya, Bankidēva's successor. Ālvara may have been another name of Paṭṭiyodeya. For some unknown reasons, the early name of Āluvarasa was changed into Ālvara during this period. A few other Ālupa rulers, who came after Paṭṭiyodeya, also had the other name of Ālvara besides their own names.

26

A much damaged inscription from Udiyāvara belongs to this period. It is dated Śaka 980, Viṭṭāmbi, Chaitra su. 15, Saturday = A.D. 1058, March 14, F.D.T. .05. The legible portion of the record makes no reference to any Ālupa ruler but mentions Māhamāṇḍalāsvara Rāya Śāntaradēva²⁷ who may be identified with Vīra Śāntara who, as stated above, had married the daughter of Paṭṭiyodeya alias Ālvara. The inscription also mentions the tender of Rāyasāntara's war horses (daṇḍa-sāhapi) whose name, however, is lost.

26 SII., Vol. VII, No. 273

27 vide. ibid., where it has been wrongly read as Rāya Śāntiratta

Saletore has assigned this record to the reign of Baṅkidēva on the assumption that the wrong reading Rāya Sāltiraṭṭa refers to Baṅkidēva. He also makes the unacceptable suggestion that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and . . . risapa-danḍasā^o should be changed to read Mahāmaṇḍalika and dakṣiṇa-bhujā-danḍa and then applied as titles to Baṅkidēva. These suggestions are disproved by the correct readings pointed out above.

The Varāṅga inscription offers lofty praises to Paṭṭiyodeya. His fame had penetrated deep into all the quarters; he was incessantly engaged in the destruction of the vice and the protection of the good and had thus made the (Sanskrit) maxim Rāja-rakṣitaṁ dharmam pass off for a Kannaḍa one. No dated references are available for his reign. He may be considered to have reigned from about 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D. and may be considered to have been the son of his predecessor Baṅkidēva I.

Before proceeding to the next reign, we may discuss the information contained in an inscription of the Goa Kadam-bas and in Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadēvacharita about the Alupas. An inscription²⁹, from Halsi, belonging to the joint-reign of the Goa Kadamba rulers Śivachitta and Viṣṇuchitta of the 12th century, while eulogising their ancestor Jayakēsin I (A.D. 1050-1080), says -

28 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 97-98.

29 JBERS., Vol. IX, pp. 278 and 282.

yas-Chālukyam niṣa rāṣya

sthāpayan-vijit-Ālupah |

Kadambita-kadambō-S

'lāṁkrit-ārthī-kṛitavān Prabhuh ||

'Assembling the Kadambas and conquering
Ālupa, he established the Chālukya in his
kingdom and became a most successful king'.

The beginning of the verse obviously refers to
Jayakēsin I's assistance rendered to Vikramāditya VI in de-
feating his brother Somēśvara II before his accession in
1076 A.D.³⁰ From the composition of the above stanza, we are
led to believe that Jayakēsin's invasion of the Ālupa kingdom
had been accomplished even before 1076 A.D., when Paṭṭiyodeya
was on the Ālupa throne.

It may be that the vanquished Ālupas dared not in-
vite further invasion upon their territory for, the Vikramāṅka-
dēvacharita³¹ informs us that Vikramāditya VI helped in in-
creasing the prosperity of the Ālupendra who had renounced
the fancy (for independence) (Ālupēndram-avadāta-vikramas-
tyakta-chāpalam-asāv-avardhayat). The allegiance of the
Ālupas to the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas, however, appears to have been
of a very superficial nature. For, as will be seen below,
the Ālupa rulers continued to receive sovereign titles in
their epigraphical records.

30 vide, The Kadambakula, pp. 182-83

31 Chapter V, verse 26.

Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiyodeya

An undated inscription from Polali in the Mangalore Taluk belongs to the reign of Paṭṭiyodeya's successor, Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya.³² This inscription is to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the end of the eleventh century. It mentions the king as Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva and endows him with sovereign titles such as samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, mahārājā-dhirāja, paramēśvara and bhattāraka.

33

Another interesting inscription, from Karaḍi in the Tiptur Taluk of Tumukur District, Mysore State, belonging to the reign of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1110-1150) and dated in Śaka 1036, Jaya, Chaitra su. 1, Saturday = A.D. 1115, February 27 has a bearing on the reign of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya. In order to correct the wrong interpretation given to it so far, it is necessary to quote the relevant portions of the text hereunder:-

Setti-Gāvundān Aluvakhēḍav-arṇu-sāsiradalu nigalav-
ikki Jayasiṅga-Aluvarana munda surige-gālagavaṁ kādi gelubandu
Kariviḍi-Hirūralu gāvundutanam geyuttam-ire Śaka-kālada 1036
Jaya-samvatsarada Chaitra-suddha pādīva Vadda-vārad-aṁḍu Sire-
nāḍa Halikāra-nāyakaru bandu tamma
tuvvam parivisalu bhūja-baḷadim tāne kādi palaran-
iridu tuvva-maguliḥi sura-lōka-prāptan-āda.

32 ARSIE., 1927-28, No. 374. Saletore (History of Tuluva, p. 99) attributes this record to the previous reign because he was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscrip-

While rendering the above passage in English, Lewis
34
Rice misunderstood the expression Āluvakhēḍav-aru-sāsiradalu
nigalav-ikki to mean 'on the Āluvakhēḍa people taking prisoners
in the thousand.' He also misread the expression Jayasiṅg-
Āluvarasa munde and took it to mean 'in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu'.
These mistakes have inevitably misled scholars in their subse-
quent assessment of the historical import of this inscription
both with reference to the Hoysaḷas and the Ālupas.

35
Saletore, for instance, concluded that the Ālupas
invaded Hoysaḷa territory, took prisoners in the Thousand and,
in the battle which ensued, killed Seṭṭi Gāvunḍa who was at
that time holding the office of gāvunḍa in Kariviḍi-Hirūr.

36
William Coelho correctly suggests that Seṭṭi-Gā-
vunḍa was holding the office of gāvunḍa in Kariviḍi Hirūr
after his return from his victorious encounter with the Ālupas
but he sticks to the wrong statement that the above encounter
took place in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu.

37
Derrett, in his turn, identifies the Thousand
(Sāsira) with Sāntalige-1000 and suggests that the region
was invaded by the Ālupas.

tion records two separate reigns of Paṭṭiyodeya and Pāṇḍya-
Paṭṭiyodeya.

33 Ep. Carn., XII, Tp. 81

34 Ibid., Translations, p. 59

35 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p.270

36 Hoysaḷa Vamśa, p. 80

37 The Hoysaḷas, p. 46.

As a matter of fact, Āluvakhēḍav-arṇ-sāsiradalu nigalav-ikki actually means 'having pressed against [the territory of] Āluvakhēḍa-6000. It is thus clear that Setṭi Gāvunḍa was not defending Hoysala territory or the principality of Sāntalige-1000 against Ālupa invasion but that he had led an invading army into the Ālupa kingdom itself. The inscription informs us that his expedition into Āluvakhēḍa-6000 was successful and that, on his return from the same, he had been holding the office of gāvunḍa in Karividi-Hirūr until his death in the battle against the cattle-raiders, which must have taken place not long before the date to which the record belongs. The epigraph gives us another important information, namely, that Setṭi-Gāvunḍa's Ālupa adversary was Jayasiṅga-Āluvara (or °Āluvarasa). The reading Jayasīṅgadu-varana munde and the meaning attributed to it make no sense whatever.

I am not sure if the reading is correct. It may be Jayasiṅga-Āluvara.

The date of the inscription, thus, refers to Setṭi Gāvunḍa's death in a different and later battle. His tussle with Jayasiṅga Āluva had taken place sometime before Setṭi Gāvunḍa had assumed the office of gāvunḍa in Karividi-Hirūr. There is also epigraphical evidence to prove that the Hoysalas invaded the Ālupa kingdom sometime before A.D. 1107, even when Vishṇuvardhana was only a prince. This evidence is furnished by an inscription³⁸ from Hirahadagalli, Hadagalli Taluk, Bellary District, Mysore State. This epigraph is dated in

Chālukya Vikrama year 31, Sarvajit, Chaitra Amāvāsyā, Sūrya-grahana = A.D. 1107, March, 25, Monday, f.d.t. .36 and records gifts by a number of persons who were in the service of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. One such donor is Vīra Vishṇu Tribhuvana Poysaḷadēva (i.e. Vishṇuvardhana himself), eulogised in the record as having conquered, among other countries, Tulu-dēsa by the mere raising of his eyebrows (Tulu-dēsam bhrū-bhaṅgaḍim kopdu). The next verse in the same record again refers to his conquest of Tuluṇāḍu. Seṭṭi Gāvunḍa being only an official under the Hoysaḷas, as is shown by the Karaḍi inscription, the Hirehaḍagaḷḷi inscription obviously refers to this very same invasion of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000 by Seṭṭi Gāvunḍa. At any rate, Seṭṭi Gāvunḍa's invasion did not result in the loss of territory for the Āḷupas, for Hoysaḷa records of this period say that the Hoysaḷa kingdom was bounded on the West by Āḷvakhēḍa.³⁹ Also, it appears that Vishṇuvardhana carried out this invasion more as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI than on his own and must, therefore, be deemed as having preceded a second invasion to be discussed below.

The reign of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya is represented by another undated inscription from Kaṭiyaṅgaḷa in Mangalore Taluk. On grounds of palaeography, this record also is to be assigned to the end of the eleventh century. It refers to the king as Kumāra-Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa, describes him as samas-tabhuvana-vikhyāta and Sōma-kula-tilaka and ascribes to him the

sovereign titles Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara and paramabhāṭṭāraka. It records the gift, by the king, of a piece of land called Pāṇḍikara to the goddess Hoḷala-Bhaṭṭaraki.

This assumption of sovereign titles by Jayasiṅga shows that he was an independent ruler. The genealogical details contained in the Varāṅga inscription and the palaeographical similarities of the inscriptions of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiga-dēva and Jayasiṅgarasa, discussed above, leave little room for doubt as for the identification of these names with one and the same ruler. We may tentatively assign a reign period of 30 years from about 1080 A.D. to 1110 A.D. for Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya alias Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva alias Jayasiṅgarasa. Since another Jayasiṃha had ruled over the Ālupa kingdom a century before him, this ruler becomes Jayasiṃha II.

Kavi Ālupendra

We learn from the Varāṅga inscription, discussed above, that the next Ālupa ruler was Kavi-^pĀlupendra. His earliest ins-
cription,⁴⁰ from Udiyāvara, is dated Śaka 1036, Jaya = A.I.⁴¹
1114-15 and is badly worn out and illegible but contains

40. SII., Vol. VII, No. 290

41. Cf. ibid., where the cyclic year is wrongly given as Vijaya. The subscript x in sva(sti) in the line above was mistaken therein for vi at the beginning of the second line.

reference to Kumāra Udayādityarasa and the setting up of the memorial stone. Kumāra Udayādityarasa was obviously a prince of the Ālupa house and may have been a son of Kavi Ālupendra.⁴²

42 Cf. *ibid.*, where the reading given is °rāiyada [Ilu] ma[nda] . . . Udayādityarasa. Saletore was misled by the wrong reading quoted above when he asserted (*History of Tuluva*, pp. 99 and 101) that this Udayādityarasa was the father and predecessor of Kavi Ālupendra. He also assigns (*ibid.*, pp. 101 ff.) a total of seven inscriptions to the reign of Kavi Ālupendra. Of these only four belong to the reign of this king. The rest of the inscriptions are to be assigned as follows:-

1. Uppūru Inscription (*ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 488):

this record belongs to the reign of a Pāṇḍya-dēva and does not mention the epithet Pāṇḍya-chakravarti as claimed by Saletore. On palaeographical grounds it is to be assigned to the 13th century.

2. Likewise, the Beluvāyi inscription (*SLI.*, Vol. VII No. 237) belongs to the reign of a Pāṇḍyadēva and is, palaeographically, of the thirteenth century.

3. The Kōṭakēri inscription (*ibid.*, No. 380) also belongs to the reign of Pāṇḍyadēvarasa and to the 13th century.

43

The next inscription belonging to the reign of this ruler is from Kōṭakēri in Bārakūru and is dated as late as in Śaka 1062, Siddhārthi, from the month of Vaisākha, probably = A.D. 1139, April 1 onwards. This inscription gives the king the only epithet of bhūja-bāla. It records the establishment by the king of the Svānanda-yōgi-nivēdya-sāle in the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara and the gift of 30 gold pieces called Pāṇḍya-gadyāna, being the income from certain taxes, along with the interest amount, to Tolaha of Sūrala, obviously for maintaining the above nivēdya-sāle. The reference to Tolaha in the record is interesting. Sūrala is the same as modern Surāl in Udipi Taluk, the region around which came under the rule of a family of Chieftains known as the Tolahas during Vijayanagar times.

To the period in between the dates of the Udiyāvara and Kōṭakēri inscriptions of Kavi Ālupēndra belong two dated inscriptions, one from Vēṇūr⁴⁴ in Karkala Taluk and the other from Uḷipāḍi⁴⁵ in Mangalore Taluk. Of these, the Vēṇūr inscription, dated Śaka 1040, Viḷambi, Kārttika, Amāvāsyā, Wednesday = A.D. 1118, November 15 (the weekday being Friday) refers to the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Sēvyagellarasa over Pūmjālīke and Chālulke. The Uḷipāḍi inscription, which is

43 SII., Vol. VII, No. 381

44 Ibid., No. 285

45 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 531.

much damaged, is dated Śaka 1041, Viṣambi, ~~vyāḷa~~ in Makara, Wednesday, Uttarā-nakshatra, Pūrṇimāse. The details of date given are irregular but the intended date fell between A.D. 1118, December 25 and A.D. 1119, January 22. This record also refers to the reign of Sēvyagellarasa over two regions (eraḍḍi-nela), probably Pūṁjaḷike and Chālūḷke. Pūṁjaḷke was the region around modern Puñjaḷkaṭṭe near Vēpūr which, in the 17th century, was under the sway of a queen named Maḍuraka-dēvi and was then known as Puñjaḷikeya-rājya.⁴⁶ It also finds mention in an earlier inscription⁴⁷, of the 15th century, as Puñjaḷiya-rājya. The other region, Chālūḷke, may have stood for the area around Uḷipāḍi, the findspot of the second inscription of Sēvyagella.

Sēvyagellarasa was apparently a local chieftain and a feudatory of Kavi Āḷupēndra. This suggestion is supported by the title Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara given to Sēvyagella as against the sovereign titles which the Āḷupas were wont to receive. It has already been pointed out that kalla is an ancient family name.

We have two more records belonging to the reign of⁴⁸ Kavi Āḷupēndra, one from Basarūru⁴⁹ in Coondapur Taluk and the other from Kōṭakēri in Bārakūru.

46 SII., Vol. VII, No. 255

47 Ibid., No. 257

48 Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, No. 393

49 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 376.

The Basarūru inscription is dated Śaka 1077, Bhāva, Dhanus, Saṁkramaṇa probably = A.D. 1154, November 25, Thursday. This record ascribes to the ruler the epithets bhuja-bala and Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī and registers the grant, by one Maunayōgi, in the presence of the Nakhara, of gold pieces called Pāṇḍya-gadyāna for conducting worship to the deity Nakharēśvara of Basurepura (i.e. Basarūru, the findspot of the inscription) in Hosapaṭṭana.

The Kōṭekēri inscription is dated Śaka 1077, Yuva, Karkāṭaka, Prathamā, Monday = A.D. 1155, June 27. In this record the king receives the full array of sovereign titles, namely, Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī, bhuja-bala, Samasta-bhuvanāśraya, Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka and is stated to be ruling from the capital city of Bārakanyāpura (i.e. modern Bārakūru.) It records the gift, by one Sājirāṇa, a native of Kashmir, of the purchase-money of a land in Pannīrppallī for conducting service to the deity Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The inscription then makes the interesting stipulation that the grant thus made should be looked after and protected by the king (śrīmad-arasaru), the minister (pradhāna), the herggaḍa, the nagara-samūha and the queen Pāṇḍyamahādēvi who was ruling over the village (ūru). Pāṇḍyamahādēvi's relationship with Kavi Āḷupendra is not stated in the record. She may have been a queen of Kavi Āḷupendra.

We get references to Kavi Āḷupendra's reign in inscriptions from outside the Tuluva too. The most important of these is, of course, the invasion of the Āḷupa kingdom

by his militant Hoysala contemporary, Vishnuvardhana. We have seen that even as early as in 1107 A.D., when he was only a prince, Vishnuvardhana claimed to have conquered Tuluva by the mere raising of his eyebrows. Some years later, for reasons not stated anywhere, Vishnuvardhana invaded the ⁵⁰Ālupa kingdom for a second time. His inscriptions belonging to 1117 A.D. when he had been king for seven years, eulogise him as utpātita-Ghaṭṭa-kapāṭan ('the feller of the door leading below the Ghāts') and Tulu-nṛipāla-hṛidaya-vidalana-rapakāli ('he who burst the hearts of the Tulu kings in the game of war'). An inscription ⁵¹ of Narasimha I (1152-1173) dated in A.D. 1155 informs us that Vishnuvardhana's general who conquered the Tulu king was mahāpradhāna, senādhipati, hiriya-haḍavala Bōkimayya. Since Vishnuvardhana ascended the throne in A.D. 1110 and since the claim for his second Tuluva-conquest is made in 1117 A.D., it is apparent that the Ālupa king who had to face this invasion was none other than Kavi Ālupendra. That this Hoysala invasion did not result in any territorial annexation is proved by the fact that the very same inscriptions which record Vishnuvardhana's conquest of the Tuluva, also record that his possessions were bound on the west by the Bārakapūra-Ghaṭṭa and also omit to include the Tuluva in the long list of his permanent conquests.

50 Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Part I, Bl. 58 and 71

51 Ibid., Hn. 69.

An undated inscription⁵² of Jagadēkamalla II (A.D. 1138-1155) from Hēmāvatī, Anantapur Taluk and District, Andhra Pradesh, mentions his feudatory Mahāmapdalāsvara Iruṅgōlachōḷadēva as the husband of one Ālpadēvi whose virtues are therein eulogised. Iruṅgōlachōḷa appears as the feudatory of the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas as early as in 1125 A.D.⁵³ and upto 1140 A.D.⁵⁴ His queen Ālpadēvi, as her name indicates, may have hailed from the Ālupa house, and she was perhaps either the sister or the daughter of Kavi Ālupendra.

Since the earliest and latest available dates for Kavi Ālupendra fall in 1114-15 A.D., and 1155 A.D. respectively, he may be tentatively taken to have reigned from about 1110 A.D. to 1160 A.D.

The reference in Kavi Ālupa's Kōṭekēri inscription to Bārakūru as the Ālupa capital is interesting. While this record belongs to A.D. 1155, his earliest inscription, of A.D. 1114-15, is from Udiyāvara. In view of this, it may be suggested that sometime during his reign, after A.D. 1114-15, Kavi Ālupa shifted the Ālupa capital from Udiyāvara to Bārakūru.

52 SIL, Vol. VI, No. 555

53 Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, No. 209

54 Ibid., No. 234.

Kulasēkhara Ālupēndra

According to Saletore⁵⁵ Kavi Ālupēndra was succeeded⁵⁶ by Jagadēvarasa. He bases this assertion on an inscription from Bairāpur, Sagar Taluk, Shimoga District. This record is dated in the 19th regnal year of Vīra Śāntarādēva, Tārāpa, Vaisākha su. 5, Thursday in the reign of Bijjanādēva. The latter is obviously the same as Kalachuri Bijjala in which case the cyclic year Tārāpa and the month of Vaisākha fell in 1164 A.D., March-May. The other details of date given in the record are, however, irregular. That portion of the inscription with which we are concerned is unhappily worded but definitely pertains to a battle in which the forces of hiriyadandanāvaka Aralaya, the governor of Banavāse-12000, Bīrarasa, the chief of Hosagunda, Singidēva of Hombuchcha, the Ālupa king from below the Ghāts and Jagadēvarasa were involved.

Vīra Śāntara's inscriptions, so far discovered, range in date from 1157 A.D.⁵⁷ to 1191 A.D.⁵⁸ Singidēva of Hombuchcha and Jagadēvarasa were the grandson^s of Vīra Śāntara and their records fall within the known dates of their grandfather and, in the case of Jagadēvarasa, even beyond. Bīrarasa of Hosagunda was a feudatory of Vīra Śāntara and is identical with Bīrarasa of an inscription⁵⁹ of 1179 A.D.

55. History of Tuluva, pp. 112 ff.

56. Mys. Arch. Rep., 1930, pp. 223-26

57. Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kp. 41.

58. Ibid., Vol. VII, Part I, Sh. 116

59. Ibid., Vol. VIII, Sb. 20.

A passage in the Bairāpur inscription which reads Ghaṭada-kelgaṇa Ālvarasu Jagadēvarasan-olag-āgi has been mistaken to mean 'including Jagadēvarasa, the Ālupa king from below the Ghāṭs'. The correct import of the passage, however, is 'including Ālvarasa from below the Ghāṭs and Jagadēvarasa'. Thus, while Jagadēvarasa of this inscription is only a prince of the Śāntara house, the Ālupa king is merely referred to as Ālvarasa.

In view of the statement in the Varāṅga inscription that Kavi-Ālupēndra was succeeded by Kulasēkhara Ālupa, it is only proper that Ālvarasa of the Bairāpur inscription is identified with Kulasēkhara.⁶⁰

Like his predecessor, Kulasēkhara also had a long reign. The inevitable conclusion is that both Kavi Ālupēndra and Kulasēkhara were quite young when they were raised to the throne.

The earliest available inscription⁶¹ for the reign of Kulasēkhara is from Basarūru in the Coondapur Taluk and is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, Makara 18, Monday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year Manmatha is to be referred to A.D. 1175-76, and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1176, January 12. This record endows

60 Unable to reconcile his theory with the information contained in the Varāṅga inscription, Saletore (History of Tuluva, p. 123) merely says that the absence of Jagadēvarasa's name in the genealogical account contained in the Varāṅga inscription is 'for the present inexplicable' !

61 SII., Vol.IX, part I, No. 394.

the ruler with all the sovereign epithets and titles of the Ālupas, viz., śaṁastabhūvanavikhyāta, Sōmakulatilaka, Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Pāṇḍya-Chakravarti. The other details of the record are badly damaged but the inscription seems to register some gift made to the god Nakharēśvaradēva of Basurūra-paṭṭana.

Next in date among the known records of Kulasēkhara is the inscription ⁶² from Mangalore, dated in the cyclic year Raktākṣi, Mēsha 13, Sunday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year is to be referred to A.D. 1204 and the given details of date regularly correspond to April 4, Sunday. ⁶² This inscription records the interesting fact that the king, who was ruling from the principal palace at Maṅgaḷūru, called Bhuvanāśraya, gave (as a fief) to his nephew (aliya) Baṅkidēva, the division known as Mugaru-nāḍu and that, on that occasion, the uncle and his nephew made some gifts to the god Baṅkēśvaradēva. The record ends with the statement that good will come to the donors, Kulasēkhara and his nephews Baṅkidēva, Baṁmadēva and Kulasēkhara. We learn from this inscription that Maṅgaḷūru, which had been the capital of the Ālupa kingdom during the 7th-8th centuries, was once again made one of the capital cities by Kulasēkhara.

62 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 185. Here the date has been wrongly read as 12 instead of 13. Saletore (History of Tuluva, pp. 148 ff.) takes much pains to assign this record to A.D. 1444. But the palaeography of the inscription and the details of the date given therein go against his theory.

Two more inscriptions belonging to Kulasēkhara's reign have been found at Mūḍabidure in the Karkala Taluk. Of these, the earlier inscription⁶³ is dated Śaka 1127, Krōdhana, Mēsha 17, Sunday = A.D. 1205, April 10 and refers to the king as Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti Kolasēkhar-Ālendradēva. It mentions his mahāpradhāna, whose name is lost, and seems to record a gift of land by three persons to Durgādēvi.

The other inscription⁶⁴ is dated in the Kali year 4315 (expired) 4316 (current), [Kēsava]-māsa 1, Vaddavāra probably = A.D. 1215, April 25, Saturday. This inscription is badly worn out but seems to record gifts to the goddess Durgādēvi.

The Varāṅga inscription informs us that Kulasēkhara's queen was Jākalamādēvi and that she had a tank dug out at Varāṅga and performed acts of charity. The Varāṅga inscription is a Jaina record. In A.D. 1246 and 1247, we hear of a Jākala Mahādēvi ruling over the Kalasa-Kārkala principality from her Capital at Kalasa, very near the borders of the Ālupa kingdom and situated in the Chikamagalur district. The Kalasa-Kārkala rulers were Jains by religion. It is not, however, possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to say if Kulasēkhara's queen was a princess of this minor ruling family and whether she is to be identified with the Jākala Mahādēvi referred to above.

63 SII., Vol. VII, No. 223.

64 Ibid., No. 222

65 Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Mg. 65, 66 and 70.

Since Kavi Āḷupēndra has been taken to have ended his reign in about 1160 A.D., and since Kulāsēkhara's latest record is dated in 1215 A.D., the latter may be deemed to have⁶⁶ reigned from about 1160 A.D. to 1220 A.D.

KUNḌANA

The Varāṅga inscription provides us with the interesting information that Kulāsēkhara was succeeded by Kuṇḍana, the younger brother of Vīra-bhūpāla who was himself the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara. The last mentioned is the same as Vīra Śāntara whose known inscriptions, as has been pointed out above, range in date from 1157 A.D. to 1191 A.D. The inscriptions of the Śāntaras do not tell us anything about his younger brothers, Vīra-bhūpāla and Kuṇḍana.

The text of the Varāṅga inscription, however, is clear and unambiguous in its narration. After referring to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara, to whom it bestows a long string of titles and epithets, the inscription says -

66 Such succession of long reigns, as suggested for Kavi Āḷupēndra and Kulāsēkhara, are not unknown to South Indian history. The sixtyfour years of Pallava Nandivarman II's reign (A.D. 731-95) was followed by 50 years of his son Dantivarman's reign (795-845 A.D.). Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (756-815 A.D.) and his son Śrīvallabha (815-862 A.D.) ruled respectively for 59 and 47 years.

ā mahābhūta-ni-j-ānujan-apārōdāra-saurvyāchāra Vīra-bhūpālānir
kiriyān-appa Kuṇḍana-kshōpipālan. The record then gives him
the titles Pandita-Pāṇḍya and Pāṇḍya-Dhanamīya and says that
he made a grant of the great city (mahā-pura) of Varāṅga
in his Ālva country (tann-Ālva-dēśa-ol). It also records a
grant of land by Kuṇḍan-ōrvvīvara. It is thus clear from
the Varāṅga inscription that Kulasēkhara was succeeded by
Kuṇḍana of the Sāntara lineage.

⁶⁷ Saletore, on the other hand, says that Kulasēkhara's
successor was Nirmādi-Chakravartti. This is not the proper
name of a ruler but is given in the Varāṅga record as one of
the many epithets of Tribhuvanamalla Sāntara, the eldest
brother of Kuṇḍana.

The circumstances which raised Kuṇḍana to the Ālupa
throne are not revealed by the Varāṅga inscription. It may be
that he had married a princess of the Ālupa house, probably the
daughter of Kulasēkhara and may have gained the Ālupa throne when
the latter died without any eligible candidate directly belonging
to the Ālupa dynasty.

No other records pertaining or referring to the reign
of Kuṇḍana have come down to us. He, however, did not reign
for long for there was another ruler on the Ālupa throne as early
as in A.D. 1235. Kuṇḍana may, therefore, be considered to
have reigned from about 1220 to 1230 A.D.



Vallabhadēva Ālupendra alias Dattālpēndra II

Kuṇḍana's successor was Vallabhadēva-Ālupēndra⁶⁸ whose reign is represented by a much worn out inscription from Vaḍḍarse, Udipi Taluk. This record gives him the epithets of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti and Rāva-gaj-āṅkusa. It is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, Kanyā 13, Monday. On palaeographical grounds, the year Manmatha is to be referred to A.D. 1235-36 and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1235 September 10.

Besides giving the name of the king as Vallabhadēva, the inscription also refers to him as Oḍḍamarāja. This helps us to identify the Ālupa king Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamadēva⁶⁹ who figures in the undated inscription from Mūḍabidure which, as has been pointed out earlier, Saletore had wrongly assigned to 959 A.D. with Vallabhadēva-Oḍḍamarāja. The palaeographical features in the two records clearly show that the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Vallabhadēva Oḍḍamarāja and the Mūḍabidure inscription of Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamarasa belong to the same period and reign.

68. ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 295.

69. SII., Vol.VII, No. 315. The published text contains the wrong reading Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamadēvigala. Saletore (History of Tuluva, p. 93) accordingly took Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra to be the king's name and Oḍḍamadēvi to be the name of his queen. The correct reading, however, is Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra-Oḍḍamadēvarasaru.

The Mūḍabidure record states that the king was ruling from his principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura. It records the gift of a cultivable field to Gaganasivāchārya, hailed therein as born in the family of Dūrvāsamunīndra, by two bodies known as the halaru or hattukēri of Bārakūru and the Nakhara.

To the reign of the same ruler belongs another undated inscription ⁷⁰ from Hungund, Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District. (The inscribed slab is now kept in the Prince of Wale's Museum, Bombay). It mentions the ruler as Dattālpēndradēvarasa, endows him with the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī and Rāvagajāṅkuśa but makes no reference to his reign obviously because Hungund and the region around were well outside the sphere of his sway. The inscription records a gift, by the king, of land in Kanyāna to Gaganasivāchārya, born in the family of Dūrvāsa-munīndra, for conducting services to the god Vighnēśvara. The presence of the record in a place so far removed from the territory of the Ālupas suggests that Gaganasivāchārya, who had earned the respect and reverence of Dattālpēndra had established himself at Hungund.

Dattālpēndra's successor was on the throne as early as in A.D. 1254 and so the former may be considered to have reigned from about A.D. 1230 to 1250.

Viṛa-Pāṇḍyadēva Ālpēndradēva

Dattālpēndra's successor bore the name Viṛapāṇḍya-⁷¹
dēva Ālpēndradēva. The earliest of his inscriptions
from Kōṭe in Udipi Taluk is dated Śaka 1177, Ānanda,
Bhādrapada ba. 30, Kanyā 16, Sunday = A.D. 1254, Septem-
ber 13. It states that the king, who is given the usual
epithets of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti and arirāya-basava-saṁ-
kara, was ruling from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura. It
records that some grant (details lost) was made by the
'Thousand' of Kōṭa and Mayda-verggade while the king was
seated in audience in the presence of all his ministers
(samasta-prādhānarum-ire) including his nephew (āliya)
Baṅkidēva and his brother-in-law (mayduna) Oḍḍamadēva
Balla-verggade.

⁷²
A second inscription of his reign, from Brahmā-
vara, Udipi Taluk, bears the date Śaka 1177, Ānanda,
Āśvayuja 'su. 15, Kanyā 30, Monday = A.D. 1254, September
28 and records that, while the king was in audience in
his palace at Bārahakanyāpura in the presence of all his
ministers (including those mentioned in the previous
record) and priests (purōhitam), the 102 mahājanas of
Brahmaūra were directed to pay to the royal treasury

71 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 509

72 Ibid., No. 485

73 Ibid., No. 490

(Narasīṅga) 700 gadyāpas once in three years.

73

Another inscription from Nīlāvara in the same Taluk, dated in Śaka 1181, Pīṅgaḷa, Phālguna ba. 5, Sunday, Mīna 2 = A.D. 1258, February 24, records that the 'Three hundred' of Nīruvāra were directed to pay every year 100 gadyāpas to the king, 30 gadyāpas to the adhikāri and 30 gadyāpas to the village. This record also states that the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura in the presence of all his ministers, including mayduna Oḍḍama-dēva and Narasīṅga-heggade and saints (ṛishi) and priests. The ruler receives the same epithets as above.

Two other inscriptions of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva, one from Kōṭēsvara, ⁷⁴ Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1183, Durmati, Mārgasīra su. 6, Tuesday, Dhanus 3 = A.D. 1261, November 29 and the other from Coondapur ⁷⁵ itself, dated Śaka 1184, Dundubhi, Śrāvana ba. 13, Sīmha 16, Sunday = A.D. 1262, August 13 state that the king was jointly ruling with the Queen Mother (piriy-arasi) Paṭṭamahādēvi. That she was the mother of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva is revealed by an undated ⁷⁶ record from Hānehallī, Uḍipi Taluk which introduces the king as her son (piriy-arasi Paṭṭamahādēviyara suputrara-aha etc.).

⁷³ Ibid., No. 490

⁷⁴ SII., IX, Part I, No. 395

⁷⁵ Ibid., No. 396

⁷⁶ ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 241.

Of these, the Kōṭṭēsvara inscription gives the king the usual epithets, mentions his pradhānas, including mayduna Oḍḍamasrīdēva, Narasiṅga-verggade and Māradamma-adhikāri and records a grant of 180 gadyāpas by the 'Three hundred', of Kudikūru, Poḷali-heggade and Kōṭi-mēlaṇṭa. The Coondapur inscription omits the epithets; it fixes the revenue of Coondapur at 140 gadyāpas. The Hānehalli inscription, besides giving the usual titles and referring to sakala-pradhānas, also mentions the queen Ballamahādēvi and records a gift of paddy to the god Sōmanāthadēva. All these records state that the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura.

77

Virapāṇḍyadēva's inscription from Hērāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1184, Dundubhi, Tulā 5, Wednesday = A.D. 1262, October 2, Monday (and not Wednesday).⁷⁸ The record is much damaged but mentions the pradhānas including mayduna Voḍḍamadēva and Narasiṅga-heggade and also the Capital Bārahakanyāpura.

79

An inscription from Puttige, belonging to his reign, is dated in the cyclic year Prabhava, Simha = A.D. 1267, July 29 - August 28, and gives him a long list of sovereign epithets and titles such as samasta-bhuvana-

77 Ibid., No. 288

78 Tulā 5 was a Wednesday in Śaka 1185, Rudhi-rōḍgārṇi = A.D. 1263, October 3.

79 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 500

vikhyāta, Sōma-kula-tīlaka, Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, vairībha-kanṭhīrava, śaranagata-vairapañjara and Śrī-Kōṭīśvaradēvara-divya-śrī-pāda-padm-ārādhaka. The inscription registers a contract while the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura with all his ministers including Oḍḍamadēva and Narasiṅga-heggaḍe.

80

Next in date is his inscription from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, which is dated in the cyclic year Āṅgiras, Mēsha 12, Saturday = A.D. 1272, April 5. It seems to record a gift of paddy to the god Baṅkēśvaradēva.

81

His latest available inscription, from Kuttupāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Bhāva, Kanyā. The details of the date are lost. The record belongs to A.D. 1274, August 29 - September 27. It records an agreement of peace entered into by the people of Māṅgōḍu in the presence of the mahāpradhānas Narasiṅga heggaḍe and Voḍḍamadēva.

82

To this period belongs an undated inscription from Kōṭekēri in Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk. It records that Vīra Jagadēvarasa, Paṭṭamahādēvi and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa were ruling jointly from their capital of Bārahakanyāpura when a gift of land was made for conducting services to the god Mahādēva. ✓

80 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 5 33.

81 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 241.

82 SII., VII, No. 380.

Saletore wrongly assigns this record to the first half of the 12th century and to the reign of Kavi Āḷupēndra with whom he has sought to identify Pāṇḍya-dēvarasa. He also makes Paṭṭamahādēvi the queen of Kavi Āḷupēndra.

Neither the palaeography of the Kōṭekēri inscription nor the known historical facts support the above suggestions. We have seen above that the Hānehalli inscription specifically states that Vīrapāṇḍyadēva was the son (sūputra) of Paṭṭamahādēvi. Paṭṭamahādēvi and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa of the Kōṭekēri inscription should be identified with Paṭṭamahādēvi and her son Vīrapāṇḍyadēva of the Hānehalli inscription. This is well borne out by the palaeography of the two records.

This leads us to the identification of the other joint ruler, Vīra Jagadēvarasa. He is given in the record feudatory titles such as samadhigatapañchamahāsabha and mahāmandalēśvara and also receives many of the typically Śāntara epithets including Uttara-Mudhur-ādhiśvara, Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-puravarādhīśvara, Mahōgra-vamśa-lalāma, Padmāvatīdēvi-labdhā-vara-prasāda, Vānara-dhvaṇam, Mriga-lāñchchhanam etc. These epithets undoubtedly prove that Vīra Jagadēvarasa hailed from the Śāntara house. He was obviously a feudatory of the Hoysaḷas.

The reasons which made him a joint ruler of the Tulu country are not given in the record or elsewhere. It is likely that Paṭṭamahādēvi, who was probably the queen of

Vallabhadēva ~~alias~~ Dattālpēndra II, was the sister of Vīra Jagadēvarasa. At the time of her husband's death, her son Vīrapāṇḍyadēva may not have come of age and she may have asked for her brother's help in ruling over the kingdom. Vīrapāṇḍyadēva appears to have been very young at the time of his accession in about 1250 A.D., for, when he died after a reign of about 25 years, it became necessary for his queen to rule as regent in the place of her young son Nāgadēvarasa. The Kōṭekēri record should therefore be referred to the early years of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's reign.

84

A damaged inscription from Uppūru, Udipi Taluk, which refers to the reign of a Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti Pāṇḍyadēva should also be referred to Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's reign on palaeographical grounds.⁸⁵ It is dated in the cyclic year Piṅgala, Kumbha 3,⁸⁶ Sunday = A.D. 1258, January 26, Saturday (and not Sunday) and records a gift of gold by some persons including one Parapalināyaka.⁸⁷ Besides these, damaged inscriptions from Pādūru,⁸⁸ Udipi Taluk and Kōṭēśvara, Goondapur Taluk, refer themselves

84 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 488

85 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp.101-102 where this inscription is wrongly assigned to A.D.1137

86 vide ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 488 where the date is wrongly read as Kumbha 31.

87 ARSIE., 1930-31, Nos. 367-368.

88 SII., IX, part I, No. 397.

to the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva.

Since the earliest and the latest known dates for Vīrapāṇḍyadēva fall in A.D. 1254 and 1274 respectively, he may be considered to have reigned from about A.D. 1250 to 1275.

Ballamahādēvi

As we had stated above, Vīrapāṇḍyadēva died leaving behind his queen Ballamahādēvi and a minor son, Nāgadēvarasa. The inscriptions clearly show that his queen succeeded him and betook all the sovereign titles used by the Ālupas.

89
Her earliest inscription is from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1201, Īsvara, Kanyā 15, Sunday. The cyclic year Īsvara, however, fell in Śaka 1199 and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1277, September 12. The inscription records gifts by the queen to the goddess Nīruvāra-Bhagavatī. She is merely addressed here as paṭṭada-piriyarasi. Ballamahādēvi was ruling from her principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura along with all her ministers (samasta-pradhānaru), the dēsi-puruṣas, the bāhattara-niyogis and the priests.

90
An inscription from Keñjūru, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1200 (wrong for 1203), Viśu, Tulā 7, Sunday = A.D. 1281,

89 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 491.

90 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 336.

October 4, Saturday (and not Sunday) refers to paṭṭada-piriya-rasi Ballamahādēvi as born in the family of Mānā-bharapēsvara and as the mistress of the Western Sea. It states that she was reigning from Bārahakaryāpura in the presence of Bankidēva of the line of Dattālva, Narasiṅga-heggade, mahāpradhāna Sōmanna-sēnabōva, Bamma-sēnabōva, kumāra Bijjanna-arasa, mahāpradhāna Perupasēnabōva and the dāsi-purushas.

91

A badly damaged inscription from Hērādī, Udipi Taluk, dated in the Kali year 4304, Chitrabhānu, Śaka 1204, Simha = A.D. 1282, July 28-October 28, gives the queen the epithet Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti.

92

Her inscription from Mūda-Alevūr, Udipi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Tārapa, Bhādrapada ba 10 probably = A.D. 1284, September 6, Wednesday and endows her with sovereign titles and epithets such as samasta-bhuvana-vikhyātām, Sōma-kula-tilakām, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēsvarām etc. It refers to her son Pāṇḍyadēvarasa and to adhikāri Dāsappa-sēnabōva.

93

Another inscription from Koḍavūr, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1210, Sarvajit, Tulā 24, Wednesday = A.D. 1287, October 22 records the remission of taxes by the queen on a land at Kuḍevūru.

94

An inscription from Kachchūru, also in the Udipi

91 Ibid., No. 291. The name of the ruler is wrongly read here as [Oḍamarāja]dēva.

Taluk, dated in the Cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Śrāvapa ba. 5, Monday = A.D. 1288, July 19 states that one Nidumbarāya made gifts of a garden and a house to one Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa for conducting services to the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara when Ballamahādēvī was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura along with her five ministers (pañchapradhānas).

Somewhen⁹² around this time, Nāgadēvarasa, who must have been a minor at the time of his father Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's death in about 1275 A.D., came of age and also came to be actively associated with the responsibilities of the crown. An inscription⁹⁵ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1213, Khara, Māgha ba. 10, Kumbha 20 (wrong for 21), Thursday = A.D. 1292, February 14, refers itself to the reign of Nāgadēvarasa, son of piriyarasi Ballamahādēvī. It records a gift of garden-land to the god Nakharēśvara by the king when he was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura with all his ministers, priests, the dāsi-purusas and the nakhara of Basarūru.

That Ballamahādēvī did not cease to be the reigning queen with the accession of her son is proved by an inscription⁹⁶ from Manipura, Udipi Taluk, which, while referring it-

92 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 584

93 Ibid., No. 577

94 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 257

95 Ibid., 1927-28, No. 415

96 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 587

self to Ballamahādēvi's reign, makes no mention of her son Nāgadēvarasa though it is dated in the cyclic year Nandana, Tulā 1 probably = A.D. 1292, September 28, Sunday. The Maṇi-pura inscription provides us with the latest known date for Ballamahādēvi. It is likely that she did not rule for long after this date. We may therefore assign her a reign-period from about 1275 A.D. to 1292 A.D.

The epithet Mānābharapēsvara-dēvara-vaṁś-ānveyar given to Ballamahādēvi in the Keñjūru inscription discussed⁹⁷ above has led to a suggestion that she may have been a princess of the Pāṇḍya dynasty or that she may have belonged to the family of Mānābharapa, the Ceylonese king who was defeated by Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54). It is, however, unlikely that the Ālupas, whose rule was at that time confined to the tiny kingdom of Āluvakhēḍa, contracted marital alliance either with the Pāṇḍyas or with the distant ceylonese kings. On the other hand, Ballamahādēvi appears to have belonged to a leading family of Āluvakhēḍa itself and may have been the sister of Oḍḍamadēva who appears in the records of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva not only as his pradhāna but also as his maiduna (i.e. brother-in-law). Oḍḍamadēva is mentioned in the Kōṭe and Brahmāvara inscriptions of 1254 A.D., discussed above, as Oḍḍamadēva-Ballaverggaḍe. Mahādēvi stands for 'queen' and verggade denotes office. Thus we get Balla as the proper names of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's queen and brother in-law.

Nāgadēvarasa and Baṅkidēva

The fact that after Vīrapāṇḍyadēva, his queen Ballāmahādēvi and later his son Nāgadēvarasa succeeded to the throne clearly shows that the system of matriarchal succession (known in the Tulu country as aliya-santāna) had not come to be adopted by the Ālupas.

We had seen above that the Basarūru inscription provides the earliest known date for the reign of Nāgadēvarasa (A.D. 1292, February 14). The next inscription⁹⁸ belonging to his reign is also from Basarūru and is dated in Śaka 1220, Kumbha 20, Thursday = A.D. 1298, February 13. This much damaged inscription refers to the samasta-pradhānas and seems to record some grant to the god Nakarēśvaradēva.

The succession of Ballamahādēvi and later of Nāgadēvarasa to the throne vacated by Vīrapāṇḍyadēva did not go uncontested. We had seen above that the Kōṭe and Brahmaṡara inscriptions of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva, belonging to A.D. 1254, mention one aliya Baṅkidēva. The Keṅjūru inscription of Ballamahādēvi states that, besides ministers and officials, Baṅkidēva of the line (haḷi) of Dattāḷva was in attendance in her court. Dattāḷva was the predecessor of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva on the Ālupa throne. These were in all probability related as father and son. Since two inscriptions of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva address Baṅkidēva as the king's aliya, it is very likely that the latter was the son of Dattāḷva's daughter and Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's sister.

Encouraged by the prevalence of aliya-santāna in South Kanara and, perhaps, among some of the minor ruling families of the region,⁹⁹ aliya Baṅkidēva appears to have contested the right of Ballamahādēvi and Nāgadēvarasa to succeed to the throne left vacant by his uncle. His open revolt against this arrangement could not have taken place before A.D. 1281 when he is mentioned as present in the court of Ballamahādēvi. The earliest reference to his reign is found in an inscription¹⁰⁰ from Brahmaṭvara, Udipi Taluq, dated in Śaka 1209, Vyaya, Mārggaśira su. 10, Tuesday = A.D. 1286, November 26, f.d.t. .30. This record, however, gives Baṅkidēva the subordinate title of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara though he also receives the sovereign epithets ~~arirāya~~ arirāya-basava-saṅkara and Vīrapāṇḍyadhanañjaya and is referred to as ruling the kingdom (rājyavan-āle).

His other inscription¹⁰¹ which falls into a date when he was not the sole ruler of Kuvakhēḍa is from Kurnāḍa in Mangalore Taluq and is dated in the cyclic year Durmukhi, Simha 27, Thursday = A.D. 1296, August 24, Friday (and not

98. Ibid., 1927-28, No. 420.

99. SII., VII, No. 202, for instance, gives seven generations of succession by aliya-santāna for a family of local chieftains. It is dated in Śaka 1351, thus enabling us to carry forward the earliest name in the given genealogy to the 13th century.

100. ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 484. The inscription has been wrongly assigned to one Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva and the year wrongly read as Śaka 1269 in the above report.

Thursday). It states that Baṅkidēva was ruling from his principal palace at Maṅgaḷūru and with all his ministers, Koṇḍey-adhikāri, Pākaraśa etc. It is thus obvious that from at least A.D. 1286 onwards, Baṅkidēva had set up a rival seat of power with his capital at Mangalore while first Ballamahādēvi and then her son Nāgaḍēvarasa continued their reigns over the northern parts of the kingdom from Bārahakanyāpura.

Since the earliest and latest known dates for Nāgaḍēvarasa fall in A.D. 1292 and 1298, he may have reigned from about A.D. 1290 to 1300. It is possible that he was finally ousted by Baṅkidēva for the latter's subsequent reign was without a rival.

102

The next available inscription of Baṅkidēva is from Mangalore and is dated Śaka 1225, Śubhakṛit, Mēśha 7, Sunday = A.D. 1302, April 1. The king receives herein the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti and Rāvagaīāṅkusa and is stated to be ruling from his palace at Maṅgaḷāpura. It records the interesting fact that the king, at the time of offering pinda for the merit of Mōchala-mahādēvi, who was his/sister (akka)

101 ARSIE, 1929-30, No. 527.

102 SII., VII, No. 177.

and had died some time ago (munna), made a gift of land and its incomes to one Vāmana with the stipulation that the gift be utilised for conducting services to the deities Brahmā Vishnu and Mahēśvara.

103

Baṅkidēva's inscription from Kariyaṅgaḷa, Mangalore Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Krōdhi, Siṃha 5, Sunday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year is to be referred to Śaka 1226 and the given details of date correspond to A.D. 1304, August 2. It records that during Baṅkidēva's reign, when Dēhāradēva was holding the office of atikāri Bunnapi made a gift of the land called Kalkuṭa, which formed a part of his brahmadāya, to the god Hoḷala-dēva.

104

His inscription from Panambūru, also in the Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1227, Viśvāvasu, Mithuna 1 = A.D. 1305, May 27, Thursday. It is much damaged but seems to record a gift of land to the god Nagarēśvarada-Ganapati by Nāgasivāchārya.

105

An inscription from Sujēru, Mangalore Taluk, dated in Śaka 1228 (wrong for Śaka 1227), Viśvāsu, Siṃha 18, Sunday = A.D. 1305, August 15, refers to Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, Rāyagājan-

103 ARSIE, 1927-28, No. 377. The date is wrongly given here as Siṃha 15 and the week-day Ā (= Āditya-vāra) is omitted. See also History of Tuluva, p. 133.

104 ARIE., 1949-50, App. B, No. 227.

105 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 338.

kusa Bankidēva Ālupēndradēva as ruling from his audience hall called Bhuvanāśraya in the principal palace at the capital city of Maṅgaḷāpura. It records several gifts by the king to the god Timirēśvara in gratitude for favourably answering his prayers for rains at the time of drought (anāvṛishṭi).

Apart from the above dated inscriptions, another
106 record from Kadiri, Mangalore Taluk, which is badly worn out and whose date is lost, but which refers itself to the reign of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, Rāvagaṇānkusa Bankidēva, is to be assigned to the same reign on palaeographical grounds.

The earliest known date for Bankidēva's reign is furnished by the Brahmāvara inscription, referred to above, which belongs to A.D. 1286. The earliest known date for his successor, as will be seen below, falls in A.D. 1315. We may, therefore, tentatively consider Bankidēva to have reigned about A.D. 1285 to 1315.

Sōyidēva Ālupēndradēva

Bankidēva was succeeded by Sōyidēva Ālupēndradēva,
107 whose earliest inscription, from Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1238, Rākshasa, Mārggaśira (wrong for Nija-Kārttika) su. 13, Vṛiśchika 13, Monday = A.D. 1315, November 10. This inscription is very interesting but, at the same time, problematic, for it mentions Bankidēvarasa of the line
108 (haḷi) of Dattāḷva as one of the donors, the others being

106 SII, Vol. VII, No. 188

107 Ibid., No. 354.

the samasta-pradhānas, the dēśī-purushas the arāḍu-kōla-bali and the bāhattara-niyōgis, who made several gifts of gold to the god Sōmanāthadēva of Mapigārakēri, a part of the capital city of Bārahakanyāpura from where Sōyidēva was regning. We have seen above that the Keñjūru inscription of Ballamahādēvi of 1281 A.D., refers to Sōyidēva's predecessor Baṅkidēva as of the line (bali) of Dattālva. His reference in the Bārakūru inscription of Sōyidēva, not as the reigning king but merely as one of the donors, may at best be explained away to mean that Baṅkidēva, for reasons not known to us from any source, had vacated the throne in favour of Sōyidēva at a date not far removed from that of the Bārakūru inscription under study. This record endows Sōyidēva with the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti and arirāyābasavaśaṅkara.

109

Next in date is an inscription from Hāvañje, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1240, Piṅḡala, Chaitra sū. 1, Tuesday = A.D. 1318, March 4, Saturday (and not Tuesday). The record is badly damaged but refers to Kūtāluva-danda-nāyaka, the samasta-pradhānas, the arāḍu-kōla-bali and the bāhattara-niyōgis. The king receives the same epithets as found in his Bārakūru inscription.

108 Cf. ibid., and History of Tuluva, pp. 135-36 where the name Dattālva has not been read, though the letters are clear on the impression examined by me.

109 ARSIE, 1931-32, No. 345.

His Uppunda¹¹⁰ (Coondapur Taluk) inscription is dated in the cyclic year Dundubhi, Jyēshṭha su. 15, Monday = A.D. 1322, May 31. It is very badly damaged.

The next in date is his inscription¹¹¹ from Āvarse, Udipi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārī, Kanyā 12, Saturday = A.D. 1323, September 10. It gives the ruler the two epithets mentioned above, refers to Mahāpradhāna Singana-sāhani and records a gift of land to Mādhava-kalkura by Bañchana-heggade and Aḷḷa-seṭṭi.

The badly damaged Pādebettu (Udipi Taluk) inscription¹¹², dated in Saka 1246, Raktākshi = A.D. 1324-25, refers to the Mahāpradhānas Sōvanna-sēnabōva and Singana-sāhani and the halaru of hattu-kōla-bali and records a gift of money by the king to the god Kōṭīsvaradēva.

Sōyidēva's inscription¹¹³ from Hosakōṭe, Coondapur Taluk, is dated Śaka 1247, Raktākshi, Āshāḍha su. 7, Thursday = A.D. 1324, June 28, F.D.T. .66. This much damaged records mentions the Mahāpradhānas Sōvannasēnabōva and Singana-sāhani and Viṭhana, the bāhattara-niyōgi and records some grant made by them.

An inscription¹¹⁴ from Paḍuvari, Coondapur Taluk, dated

110 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 554

111 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 308

112 Ibid., 1930-31, No. 374

113 Ibid., 1961-62, No. 618

114 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 550

in Śaka 1246, Raktākṣi, Sīmha 17, Wednesday = A.D. 1324, August 14, Tuesday (and not Wednesday), mentions Mahāpradhāna Sovanna-sēnabōva and Loki-yāḍaha, the adhikāri of Bayidura-nāḍu and records a gift of land to the god Sōmanāthadēva.

Bayidūra-nāḍu was the region around the modern village of Bayidūru in Coondapur Taluk. While narrating the boundaries of the gift land, the inscription refers to the land (hāḷu) of Dātu-nāyaka of the lineage (hālī) of the Toḷahas. The rise of the Toḷahas into a minor ruling family during the later Vijayanagara period and after has been noticed earlier in this chapter.

115
Another inscription from Kāp, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1247 (wrong for 1246), Raktākṣi, Kanyā . . . = A.D. 1324, August-September, records some grant (details lost) made by the grāḍu-kōḷa-bālī and the hāhattara-niyōgis.

116
Soyidēva's Mūḍa-niḍambūru (Udipi Taluk) inscription is dated in the cyclic year Prabhava, Āshāḍha ha. 3, Karkāṭaka 9 (wrong for 11), Tuesday = A.D. 1327, July 8, Wednesday (and not Tuesday). It records a gift of land to the god Tāreguḍeyadēva by Mahāpradhāna Sīngana-sāhaṇi, Boppaṇa-adhikāri, Koḍakāla-nāyaka of Naḍapu and the ūru.

117
The latest date for Sōyidēva's reign is furnished by the Kuḍupu (Mangalore Taluq) inscription which is dated in the cyclic year Bhāva, Kumbha 22, Wednesday = A.D. 1335, February 15. This record gives the name of the king as Sōyirāya and gives him, the three epithets, Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti,

arirāya basava śaṅkara, and Rāya-gajāṅkusa.

To the period of Sōyidēva's reign belong two other dated inscriptions from South Kanara. Of these, the Varāṅga¹¹⁸ (Karkala Taluk) inscription, dated in Śaka 1254, Āṅgīrasa, Mithuna su. 10 (i.e. Mithuna, Niṣā-Jyēshṭha su. 10) Thursday = A.D. 1332, June 4 has been wrongly attributed¹¹⁹ to Gōpīś-vararāya. The correct reading of the name, however, is Sōvīś-vararāya and, therefore, the king mentioned in the record is none other than Sōyidēva or Sōyirāya. This record, which is badly worn out, gives the ruler epithets such as Pāṇḍita-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya-Dhanāñjaya and arirāyabasavasāṅkara. It mentions the official sarvādhikāri Narasiṅga.

The other inscription¹²⁰ is from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, also in the Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1256, Bhāva, Phālguna su. 5, Wednesday = A.D. 1334, February 9. This record refers itself to the universal reign (prithvī-rājya) of Lōkanēśhadēvarasa who, while receiving imperial titles such as samasta-

115 SII, VII, No. 274

116 Ibid., No. 308

117 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 461.

118 Ibid., No. 527

119 Ibid., Also see History of Tuluva, pp. 138-39.

120. SII, VII, No. 247.

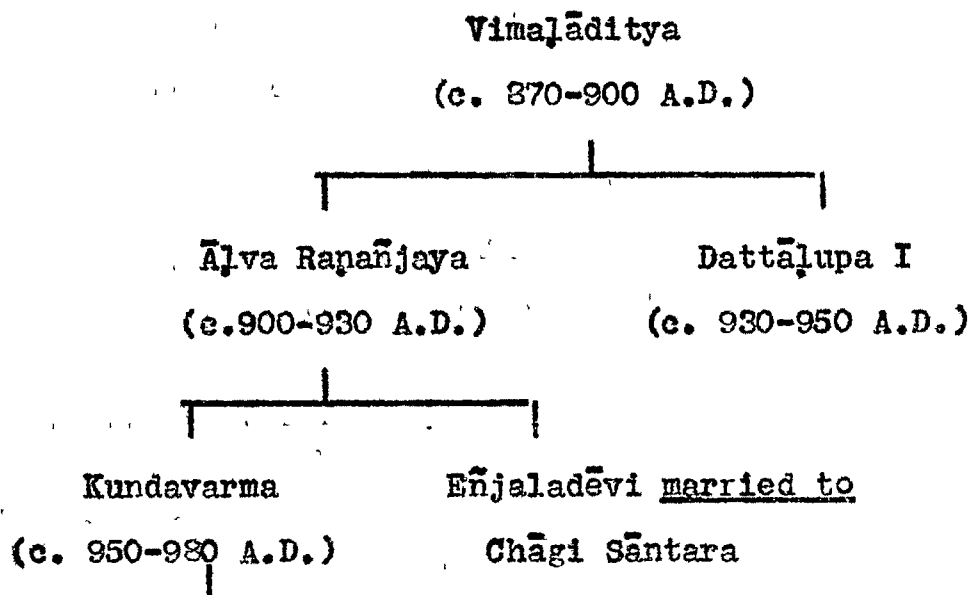
bhuvan-āsrava, Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja and Rāja-dhirāja and Rājaparamēśvara, also receives the feudatory title Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. Besides, he calls himself a devotee of the Jaina preceptor Chārūkīrttipaṇḍita who, according to this record, was Ballāla-rāya chitta-chamatkāra (an object of admiration for the Hoysala emperor). Lōkanāthadēva also receives epithets, typical of the Śāntaras, such as Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravarādhīśvara, Mahōgravaśalalāma, etc., clearly indicating that he belonged to the Śāntara dynasty. It may, therefore, be concluded that Lōkanāthadēva was the then ruling king of Śāntalige-1000, the hereditary possession of the Śāntaras, and that he was a feudatory of the Hoysala emperor who at that time was Ballāla III (A.D. 1291-1342).

It will be seen in the next chapter that by the date of the Hiriyāṅgaḍi inscription, South Kanara had come to be occupied by the Hoysalas. It is likely that Lōkanāthadēvarasa, being a loyal feudatory of Ballāla III, was permitted to add the Kārkaṭa region to his own principality of Śāntalige-1000. His reign over this region appears to have served as a fore-runner for the establishment of the rule, over the Kārkaṭa territory, of the later Śāntaras of Kaṭasa during the Vijayanagara period. (See Chapter VI).

Sōyidēva's earliest known date falls in A.D. 1315 and the latest in A.D. 1335. Since the earliest known date for his successor falls in A.D. 1339, Sōyidēva may be deemed to have reigned from about A.D. 1315 to 1335.

During the last years of his reign Sōyidēva had to-
lerate a second line of administration headed by the queen of
Hoysala Ballāla III. This Hoysala invasion marked a turning
point in the history of South Kanara which once and for ever
came to lose its political isolation. When the Hoysalas were
removed from the political arena, the Ālupa kingdom did not
regain its independence, but came to form a part of the em-
pire of Vijayanagara. It is only meet that this important
development in the history of South Kanara is delineated in a
separate chapter.

The previous chapter contained a genealogical table of
the early Ālupas, upto Dattāḷupa I. Hereunder is given a table
of succession¹²¹ for the rulers who reigned thereafter:



121 The nature of relationship between the preceding
and succeeding rulers is generally not stated in the epigraphs
themselves. The vertical stroke in between two given names of
rulers is intended to show only direct succession and not the

Jayasimha I

(c. 980-1010 A.D.)

·
·

Chōla Occupation

(c. 1010-1020 A.D.)

·
·
·

Bankidēva I = Bīraladēvi

(c. 1020-1050 A.D.)

Mankabharasi married

Śāntara Tailapadēva

Pattiyodeya alias

Aluvarasa V

(c. 1050-1080 A.D.)

Pāndya Pattiyodeya

alias Jayasimha II

(c. 1080-1110 A.D.)

Kavi Alupendra = Pāndyamahādēvi.

(c. 1110-1160 A.D.)

Kulasēkhara I = Jākalamādēvi

(c. 1160-1220 A.D.)

Kuṇḍana (c. 1220-1230 A.D.)

relationship of father and son unless it has been so stated
in the body of the thesis.

Vallabhadēva alias

Dattāluṇa-II married Paṭṭamahādēvi

(c. 1230-1250 A.D.)

Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva

(c. 1250-1275 A.D.)

A Daughter

His queen

Ballamahādēvi

(c. 1275-1292 A.D.)

Bankidēva II

(c. 1285-1315 A.D.)

Nāgadēvarasa

(c. 1290-1300 A.D.)

Sōyidēva

(c. 1315-1335 A.D.).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HOYSALA OCCUPATION AND THE LAST ALUPA RULERS

The earliest encounter between the forces of Hoysala Ballāḷa III and the Tuluva army is recorded in an inscription¹ from Hanagavāḍi, Honnālī Taluk, Shimoga District. Dated in Śaka 1240, Kālayukti, Pushya su. 10, Monday = A.D. 1319, January 2, Tuesday (and not Monday), it records the death of Saṅgiya-nāyaka, son of Yibbara-nāyaka, in a battle fought on behalf of the Hoysala ruler against Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvura below the Ghats. The Hoysala forces were led by Saṅkya-sāhapi, the brother-in-law (mayduna) of Baicheya-dappāyaka. The record says that before he was himself killed, Saṅgiya-nāyaka had successfully routed the Tuluva forces (Tuluvara keḍisi).

Chandāvura below the Ghats is the same as modern Chandāvar, a village in the Honavar Taluk of North Kanara District. The above inscription clearly suggests that Basavadēva was assisted in the battle against the Hoysala forces by the ruler of the Tuluva country by which is meant the Ālupa ruler. And in A.D. 1319 the Ālupa throne was occupied by Sōyidēva. An inscription² from Sirālī near Bhaṭkaḷ, also in the Honavar Taluk, throws interesting light in this regard. The record is in two parts, the first one dated in Śaka 1225, Krōdhi,

1 Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Hl. 117.

2 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. III, part I, No.2

Chaitra su. 1, Monday = A.D. 1304, March 8, Sunday (and not Monday). It refers itself to the reign of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāva-basavasāṅkara Vīra-Ajayidēvarasa. The epithets are typical for the Ālupas and Ajayidēvarasa was probably a prince of the family put in charge of the administration of the region around Sirālī by the then Ālupa king, Baṅkidēva II.

That the Ālupas of that period were in actual possession of the southern extremes of the North Kanara District is proved by the second part of the Sirālī inscription which, dated in the cyclic year Prajāpati, Mārgasira ba. Amāvāse, Saturday, Solar eclipse = A.D. 1331, November 30, refers itself to the reign of Sōyidēvarasa whose reign was discussed towards the end of the previous chapter. Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvara, was in all probability a feudatory of Ālupa Sōyidēvarasa for the Hanagavāḍi inscription specifically declares that Saṅgiya-nāyaka routed the army of the Tuluva king (Tuluvara bala).

The Hanagavāḍi record thus furnishes the earliest recorded encounter between Ballāḷa III and Sōyidēva. The battle of Chandāvara was most probably fought by Ballāḷa as one in a chain of military expeditions meant to bolster up the prestige and power of the Hoysala empire which had suffered a distinct set-back as a result of his subjugation by the Muslim invader Malik Kafur. At any rate, epigraphical evidence shows that the Ālupas neither lost in territory nor did they acknowledge Hoysala suzerainty *as a result of this battle.*

But, early in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century Āluvakhēda lost its territorial independence, never again to retrieve it. Vīra Ballāla III, whose long reign was remarkable for its many wars, thoroughly overran the Ālupa kingdom and his inscriptions start appearing in South Kanara from A.D. 1333 side by side with those of other local rulers, including the Ālupas.

The earliest inscription³ of Ballāla III as yet discovered in South Kanara is from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk and is dated Śaka 1255, Āṅgīrasa, Phālguna ba. 10, Mīna 16, Thursday = A.D. 1333, Mārch 11, f.d.t. .14. It records that in the presence of Chikkāyī-Tāyī, the senior crowned queen (Paṭ-tada-piriy-arasi) of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya basavasaṁ-kara, rāya-gajāmkusa, Pratāpa-Chakravartti Hoyisapa Vīra Ballāla, while Mahāpradhāna Vayijappa-dappāyaka, Ajaṇpa-sāhaṇi, all the pradhānas, the bāhattara-niyōgas and the eraḍu-kōla-haḷi were in attendance, the body called Nīruvāra-14 made a gift of the taxes on a piece of land to the temple of Durgā-Bhagavatī of Nīruvāra. Nāgarasa was made the administrator (atikāri) of the grant thus made.

Chikkāyī-Tāyī, who ruled over South Kanara in the name of her husband,⁴ is obviously a princess of the Ālupa house. Derrett accuses Ballāla III, during his times the most power-

3 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 492.

4 The Hoysalas, pp. 165-66.



ful ruler in the south, of condescending to become one of the many husbands of Chikkāyi-Tāyi who, according to him, must have married again and again as permitted by the aliya-santāna or matriarchal law of succession ! It has, however been pointed out above that the Ālupas do not appear to have adopted the aliya-santāna system at any time during their existence as a royal family. The only instance we have in the long list of known Ālupa rulers is the reign of aliya-Bāṅki-dēva. Even here, his reign was only a challenge to those who had succeeded to the throne by the universal law of direct succession.

5

Another Hoysala inscription from Hosāla, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1255, Śrīṃukha, Māgha ba. 14, Kumbha 10, Thursday = A.D. 1334, February 3. This record introduces Ballāḷa III, queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, Mahāpradhāna Vajijappa-dannāyaka and Ajappa-sāhapi in the same words as found in the Nīlāvara inscription discussed above. Among those attending upon the queen are included herein, besides the bāhattara-niyōgia and the araḍu-kōla-baḷi, Lōkanātha-dēva of the line (baḷi) of Dattāluva, Virupanāthadēva and the halaru of the mūrukāri of Bārakūru. The damaged portion of the inscription seems to record some grant made to the deity Visvēśvara.

5 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 262. The date given herein is, however, incorrect and incomplete.

We have shown towards the end of the previous chapter that an inscription from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, dated February 9, A.D. 1334, refers itself to the reign of Lōkanāthadēvarasa who, as indicated by the titles and epithets accorded to him in the record, belonged to the Śāntara family. He is obviously the same as the Lōkanāthadēva of the line of Dattāluva, referred to in the Hosāḷa inscription. His connection with the line of Dattāluva (c. 1230-1250 A.D.) may be explained by the suggestion that the latter may have given away in marriage one of his daughters to a Śāntara ruler and that Lōkanātha was one of the descendants of such an alliance. The Hiriyāṅgaḍi inscription further states that Lōkanāthadēva's parents were Bommidēva and Siddaladēvi. The absence of any records belonging to Bommidēva's reign in South Kanara itself suggests that he did not belong to the Tulu country.

The Bailūru (Udipi Taluk) inscription⁶ is dated Śaka 1257, Bhāva, Mīna 23, Friday = A.D. 1335, March 18, Saturday (and not Friday). This record also introduces Ballāḷa III and his queen, whose name is spelt herein as Kikkāyi-Tāyi, in terms identical with the records discussed above, and registers the grant of income from certain taxes to Vāsudēva-muḍilla by the queen in the presence of Mahāpradhāna Vaijappadappāyaka, the Nakhara-haṇḍamāna of Bārakuru, the aradu-kōla-

6 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 583. The cyclic year is wrongly given here as Yuva.

baḷi, all the pradhānas and the bāhattara-niyōgia. The inscription also states that the tax-money thus granted was realised from the village of Baḷūru as per rules of village administration (grāma-mariyāde).

It has been shown in the previous chapter that the Ālupa ruler Sōyidēva's reign ended sometime in A.D. 1335. He, as well as his successor Kulasēkhara whose reign will be discussed below, ruled from Bārakakanyāpura. At the same time, inscriptions prove that Chikkāyī Tāyī also ruled over the Ālupa kingdom from the same city. It is, thus, obvious that the Ālupas, in order to minimise the devastating effects of Hoysala occupation, had, to some extent, compromised with their status as the sole rulers of the Tulu country. This is only better proved by the presence of inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the Ālupa kings and Chikkāyī-Tāyī all over the Tulu country and, in some cases, in the same village too.

7

The next Hoysala inscription is from Bārakāru itself and is dated Śaka 1258, Dhātu, Vaiśākha su. 1, Mēsha 19, Saturday = A.D. 1336, April 13. After introducing Ballāḷa III and his queen Kikkāyī-Tāyī in the usual phrases, it refers to Mahāpradhāna Vayijappa-dappāyaka and to the pradhānika (ministership) of Ajāṃpa-sāhapi. The inscription records

7 SII., VII, No. 312. The name of the queen has been wrongly read here as Kishnāyī-Tāyī.

the gift of land, by Sōvanṇa and Bākaṇṇa, to the god Saumya-dēva and associates the three saṭṭis of muṇṇukāri and the 150 aḷameṣ with the gift.

8

A much damaged inscription from Hatyaṅgaḍi, Coondapur Taluk, records some grant (details lost) made by Ballāḷa III to the god Kōṭṭisvaradēva. Dated in Śaka 1260, Iṣvara, Phālgupa ..., Thursday = A.D. 1338, February-March, this inscription makes no reference to his queen Kikkāyi-Tāyi.

We may now turn our attention to the history of the Aḷupas. When Sōyidēva ended his reign in about A.D. 1335, he was succeeded on the throne by Kulasēkharadēva Alpēndra-dēvarasa II whose earliest available inscription, from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1261, Bahudhānya = A.D. 1339, January-March. This record gives Kulasēkhara, the sovereign epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti and arirāya-zai-āṅkuṣa and expressly states that he was ruling from his principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura. This clearly proves that like Sōyidēva, Kulasēkhara also ruled as an independent king even while Ballāḷa III was holding his sway over the same kingdom through his queen Chikkāyi-Tāy. The inscription records some grant to the god Sōmanāthadēva by all the ministers (samasta-pradhānas) of Kulasēkhara.

10

The next inscription of Kulasēkhara, from Nīlāvara,

8 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 568.

9 Ibid., No. 596.

10 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 496.

Udipi Taluk, is dated as late as in Śaka 1267, Tārāpa, Mārgasīra ba. 3, Vṛśchika 27, Thursday = A.D. 1344, November 23, Tuesday (and not Thursday). This inscription records a gift of land by the king, in the presence of the samasta-pradhānas, to the goddess Bhagavatī of Nūruvāra.

In between the Handāḍi and Nīlāvāra inscription of Kulasēkhara, we have one record belonging to the reign of Ballāḷa III. This record ¹¹, from Mūdabidure, Kārkāḷa Taluq, is dated in the cyclic year Vishu, Makara 15, Thursday = A.D. 1342, January 10. It gives Ballāḷa III a long string of epithets such as samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Sōma-kula-tilaka, Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti etc., and states that he was the son of Narasimha-adhīndra-dēvarasa (i.e. Narasimha III - A.D. 1234-1292). The inscription which specifies punishments for acts of violence in that region, was set up jointly by Hariyappa-dannāyaka, the brother-in-law (mayamūḍa) of Mahārādhāna Dēvappa-dannāyaka, Mādadaḥa, the son of Hosabadaḥa, the Atikāri Dēvati-Āḷava, the six ballāḷus of Sāḷike, the five horahinavarū, the eight settis of Bidire-nagara, the four alames, the aradu-kōla-baḷi, the nāḍu and the nakara.

While the above inscription makes no reference to Ballāḷa III's queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, an inscription ¹² from Mēladupu, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1265, Tārāpa, Pushya sū.1, Dhanus 9, Monday = A.D. 1344, December 6, makes no mention of

Ballāḷa III and, on the other hand, refers itself to the reign of queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi and her son (~~avara-kumāra~~) Kulasēkharadēva. The reason for the absence of Ballāḷa III's name in the inscription is obvious. Ballāḷa had been most cruelly put to death by the Muhammadans at Madura on the 8th of September, 1342.¹³

Though, with the death of Ballāḷa III, the Hoysala empire itself ceased to exist, his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi's sway over South Kanara continued uninterrupted. The Mēlaḍupa record gives to Chikkāyi-Tāyi, for the first time, all the sovereign Ālupa epithets which had hitherto been borne by her deceased husband : Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-basava-sāṅkara and Rāya-gaj-aṅkusa. The record refers to the joint rule of the queen and her son though the latter receives no epithets whatever. The inscription then mentions their subordinate Vīra-Lōkanāthadēvarasa¹⁴ who receives a string of epithets such as para-nārī-sahōdara, Rāya-murāri and para-bāḷa-sādhaka. This inscription thus reveals two important facts, namely that, at the death of her husband, queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi made her son Kulasēkhara a joint ruler and that Lōkanāthadēvarasa, though given imperial titles in the Hiriyāṅgaḍi record discussed above, was only a feudatory of Hoysala Ballāḷa III and later of his queen and son. The inscription, which is

12 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 240

13 William Coelho : The Hoysala Vamsa, p. 250.

14 See ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 240, where the name of

the subordinate was not read.

* you have not been able to read the name of the subordinate. I have not been able to read the name of the subordinate. I have not been able to read the name of the subordinate.



badly worn out in parts, seems to record gifts of land.

The latest available inscription¹⁵ of Chikkāyi-Rāyi, from Kanyāna, Coondapur Taluk, is dated in the Cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Mithuna 11, Friday = A.D. 1348, June 6. This indifferently engraved record confers on the queen the usual epithets of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī, arirāya-basava-saṅkara and Rāya-gai-āṅkusa and mentions her son (kumāra) whose name is very illegibly engraved. It is, however, likely that he was Kulasēkhara, already mentioned in the Mēladupu inscription. The record registers a grant of land by the queen to a certain Anna-hebbāruva.

The destruction of the Hoysala empire did not result in a vacuum but heralded the rise, on its very ruins, of another power, that of Vijayanagara, the like of which the south had never seen before. Harihara I, one of the founders and the first of its rulers, had started the kingdom on a humble note in A.D. 1336. At that time, the kingdom of Vijayanagara lay only over a part of the defunct Hoysala empire. It is well known that the urgent need for a united stand by the Hindu powers against the merciless⁸ onslaughts of the Muslim invaders contributed to the rapid growth, in strength and in territory, of the Vijayanagara empire without much military exertions on the part of its rulers. Within a decade of the founding of Vijayanagara (1336 A.D.), the Tulu country also fell in line and became, thereafter, a permanent part of the empire.

15 ARSIE, 1930-31, No. 360. The tithi 11 has not been read in this report.

We have no means of determining whether a show of force on the part of Vijayanagara was necessary for the final annexation of Tuluva. While the inscriptions of the Ālupas, as will be seen below, continue to display the political and administrative independence of those rulers right till the end, queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara emperors. This is learnt from an inscription¹⁶ from Śringēri, Kadur District, Mysore State, dated in Śaka 1268, Pārthiva, Phālguna ba. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1346, March 9, in the reign of Harihara I. This epigraph, after recording gifts to Bhārati-tīrtha-srīpāda and his disciples, also records the gift of villages to the parichārakas of the same ascetic, by Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-basava-saṅkara, Rāya-gai-āṅkusa Vīra-Chikkāyi-Tāyi. The villages thus granted were situated in the Sāntalige-nāḍu, thus revealing for the first time that Chikkāyi-Tāyi's sway extended even beyond the Ghats into the territory of the Sāntaras.

We have shown above that the latest available date for Chikkāyi-Tāyi's reign is furnished by the Kanyāna record. Hoysala Ballāla III, who had annexed Tuluva in about A.D. 1333, to which year his earliest inscription from South Kanara belongs, ruled over the region till his death in A.D. 1342. His queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, who had been associated with him right from the start of his sway over South Kanara, ruled in all probability upto ~~the~~ about A.D. 1350. ~~His~~ son Kulāsēkhara to whose joint reign the Mēlaḍupu (A.D. 1344) and, perhaps, the Kanyāna (A.D. 1348) inscriptions make a reference, is not

heard of again. It is, therefore, likely that he did not continue to rule after the decease of his mother.

It was made obvious in the chapters above that the Tulu country was subjected to invasions from outside, though only occasionally. Epigraphical evidence shows that the Ālupas acknowledged the suzerainty, though only for brief periods and, then again, half-heartedly, of the early Kadambas, Bādāmi Chālukyas, Pallavas of Kāñchī, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. We had seen that the Chōḷas had for a brief period in the eleventh century occupied the Ālupa kingdom and that the Hoysaḷas had carried their arms into Āluvakhēḍa more than once under Viṣṇuvardhana. While these invasions were in the nature of mere raids and failed to have any lasting effect upon South Kanara, the invasion by Ballāḷa III proved to be of an entirely different nature. Though he permitted the ancient Ālupa family to continue its independent sway over Āluvakhēḍa, he made the region a part of his empire and established a second line of administration, run by his queen Chikkāyī-Tāyī with the assistance of generals and ministers. The most important of these was Mahāpradhāna Vayijappadanpāyaka who figures in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions of South Kanara from A.D. 1333 to 1336. He and Ajamṇa-sāhapi, who was one of the ministers (pradhāna) of Chikkāyī-Tāyī must have helped in the establishment of Hoysaḷa power over the Ālupa territory.

At least one record informs us that Ballāḷa III stationed a standing army at the capital city of Bārahakanyāpura (Bāra-

17
kūru). This inscription is from Aladahalli, Arsikere Taluq, Hassan District, Mysore state and is dated Śaka 1151 (wrong for 1261), Bahudhānya, Vaisākha su. 2, Wednesday = A.D. 1338 April 22. From this record, we learn that, at the given date, Ballāla III was on a visit to his military establishments at Bārakūru (Ballāla-dēvaru Bārakūru-dāmdinga bijayaṁ geydu etc.). More than any other evidence, this epigraph clearly shows that Ballāla III's invasion of South Kanara was not a mere raid but resulted in the annexation of the territory to his own empire.

The Last Ālupa Rulers

We may once again turn our attention to the history of the Ālupas. The Handāḍi and Nīlāvara inscriptions of Kulasēkhara, who succeeded Sōyidēva in about A.D. 1335, were discussed above. They are dated respectively in A.D. 1339 and 1344.

18
Kulasēkhara's inscription from Kumrugōḍu, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Āsvayuja su. 10, Tulā 7, Thursday = A.D. 1345, October 6. The king receives herein the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-basava-saṅkara and Rāya-gaj-āṅkusa and is stated to be ruling from his principal

17 Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Part I, Ak. 183.

18 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 591.

palace at Bārakūru. The inscription records a gift of land to one Parapaḷi-nāyaka, made by the king accompanied by all his ministers (samasta-pradhānas) and Nārāpanāyaka.

19

Another inscription¹⁹ from Handādi, Udipi Taluk, which furnishes the latest known date ^{for} ~~from~~ Kulasēkhara's reign, is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Phālguna ba. 6, Mīna 9, Tuesday = A.D. 1346, March 14. The king is given the usual epithets and is stated to be ruling from Bārakūru. The inscription records a gift of land by the samasta-pradhānas and others to one Aṃpa-Oraṃbaḷi and ends with Kulasēkhara's signature.

During the closing years of Kulasēkhara III's reign and during the reigns of his successors, South Kanara had come under the rule of Vijayanagara emperors. But while the Hoysala queen became a subordinate of the Vijayanagara emperors, inscriptions of the Ālupas reveal that they continued to enjoy the same amount of political and administrative independence as in the days of Hoysala Ballāla III. Because of this and also in order to avoid confusion in the narrative, it is proposed to discuss hereunder reigns which succeeded that of Kulasēkhara II instead of studying this period of Ālupa history as part of South Kanara's history under Vijayanagara.

The latest available inscription of Kulasēkhara II, discussed above, and the earliest available inscription of his successor to be discussed below, both ^{no} below to A.D. 1346. Kulasēkhara II, therefore, reigned from A.D. 1335 to 1346.

20

According to Saletore Kulasēkhara II was succeeded by Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II. In order to substantiate this view, Saletore assigns four stone inscriptions to the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva. The earliest of these is from Brahmāvara,²¹ Udipi Taluk and is dated Śaka 1268, Vyaya, Mārgasīra su. 11, Saturday = A.D. 1346, November 25. But, as assumed by Saletore, this record does not refer itself to the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva but to that of Vīra-Pāṇḍya-Dhaneñjaya Baṅkiḍēva Alpēndradēvarasa. It is, thus, obvious that Kulasēkhara's successor was Baṅkiḍēva III. The grant portion of the inscription is badly worn out but seems to record a gift of land.

22

The second inscription which Saletore assigns to the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva, is from Śrīngēri and has already been discussed while writing on the reign of Chikkāyī-Tāyī, queen of Ballāḷa III. This inscription does not refer to any Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva, and the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-basava-Sankara and Rāya-gaj-āṅkusa are applied to Kikkāyī-Tāyī herself. We have shown above that this queen receives these epithets in her inscriptions from South Kanara. Saletore also makes the wrong statement that Kikkāyī-Tāyī was the queen of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva whereas she was the queen of Ballāḷa III.

23

The third inscription attributed to Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva

20 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Taluvas, pp.145 ff.

21 ARSIE, - 1928-29, No. 484.

22 Ep.Carn., VI, Sg.1.

is from Mangalore. The correct reading of the date given in this record is Ś 1281, Vikāri, Mīna 1, Sunday = A.D. 1359, February 24. The rest of the record is so badly worn out that it has not been possible to make out the name of any king.

The fourth inscription²⁴ from Attavara, Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1288, Parābhava, Mēsha 10, Thursday = A.D. 1366, April 4, Saturday (and not Thursday). This record makes no mention of any reigning king but refers to a grant made in ancient days (ādi-kāladalu) by king Kulasēkhara.

It is thus obvious that Kulasēkhara II was succeeded by Bankidēva of the Brahmāvara inscription. No other records of his reign have come down to us. The earliest available record of his successor Kulasēkhara III belongs to the end of A.D. 1355. Bankidēva II may, therefore, be considered to have reigned from A.D. 1346 to 1355.

The earliest inscription²⁵ of Kulasēkhara III is from Handādi, Udipi Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1277, Manmatha, Dhamu 27, Thursday = A.D. 1355, December 24. The king is given the epithets Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-hasava-Sāṅkara and Rāya-gaj-āṅkura and is stated to be ruling from Bārakūru. It refers to one Vāḷeyarasa and the samasta-pradhānas and records a gift of land by the king.

23 SIL., VII, No. 180.

24 Ibid., No. 178.

25 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 594.

The only other inscription belonging to the reign of Kulasēkhara III is from Mūdabidure, Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1306, Kali 4484 (other details of date are lost) = A.D. 1383-84. This inscription endows the ruler with sovereign titles such as samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Pāṇḍya mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Parama-bhaṭṭāraka. This record further ^{states} ~~inform us~~ that the king was seated on his jewelled throne at Bidire (i.e. Mūdabidure) and that he was a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina pontiff Chārukīrttiḍeva.

Kulasēkhara III may have ruled from A.D. 1355 to about 1390. He was in all probability succeeded by Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II who is, however, mentioned in his only available inscription without the usual dynastic appellation Ālupendra. This inscription ²⁷ from Mūdabidure, dated in Śaka 1318 (expired), gives the king all the sovereign titles which his predecessor had borne in the record discussed above, thus making it certain that Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva belonged to the Ālupa dynasty. It records a grant of land made to the goddess Durgādēvi.

According to Saletore one Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva III ²⁸ ruled from A.D. 1397 to 1441 and was succeeded by one Vīra-Kulasēkhara-dēva IV for whom he gives the dates 1441-44 A.D. Saletore

26 SII., VII, No. 225

27 Ibid., No. 221

28 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 145 ff.

makes out this theory on the strength of two inscriptions one from Mūdabidure²⁹ and the other from Mangalore.³⁰ It has been shown above that both these records belong to the reign of Kulasēkhara I who ruled from about 1160 A.D. to 1220 A.D.

Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II is therefore the last of the known Ālupa rulers and his Mūdabidure inscription belonging to A.D. 1397, and discussed above, is the latest Ālupa inscription which has as yet been brought to light. It may be concluded from this that the ancient house of the Ālupas had met with its end by 1400 A.D.

We had seen above that though the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Pallavas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Chōlas and the Hoysaḷas had thrust their power on the Ālupas, the latter had always maintained their political independence during their long sway over the Tulu country. But, in the fourteenth century, the conqueror in the form of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, came to stay as a ruler of the Ālupa kingdom. Again, towards the end of the first half of that century, the Ālupa kingdom was subjected to the power of Viṭṭayanagara. Actually, though only for a brief period, South Kanara was simultaneously ruled by three powers, those of the Ālupas,

²⁹ SII., VII, No. 224.

³⁰ Ibid., No. 185.

of the Hoysala queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi and of Vijayanagara. It is a tribute to the diplomatic skill of the Ālupas that they succeeded in maintaining their throne at Bārakūru side by side with those of the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara. A comparative assessment of the political power which the Ālupas wielded during this period will be brought to light in the chapter to follow.

The previous chapter contained, at the end, a genealogical tree from Vimalāditya (c. 870-900 A.D.) to Sōyidēva (c. 1315-1334 A.D.). The genealogical table of the rulers who followed is given below:

Ālupa

Hoysala

Sōyidēva

(c. 1315-1335 A.D.)

|

Kulasēkhara II

(A.D. 1335-1346)

|

Bankidēva III

(A.D. 1346-1355)

|

Kulasēkhara III

(A.D. 1355-1390)

|

Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II

(c. A.D. 1390-1400)

Chikkāyi Tāyi m. Ballāla III

(A.D. 1333-1348)

|

Kulasēkhara

(A.D. 1344-1348)

CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH KANARA UNDER VIJAYANAGARA

The empire of Vijayanagara was blessed into its birth and Harihara I was crowned its first emperor in A.D. 1336. Its beginnings were humble enough, only a part of the just defunct Hoysala empire coming under the sway of Harihara I at the start. But, very soon, the then prevailing political circumstances, which were largely the creations of the peril into which the Hindus found their timeless religion thrust by the relentless Muhammadan onslaughts, contrived to expand the territories of the Vijayanagara empire into an unprecedented vastness.

South Kanara itself came to form a part of the empire within a decade of its birth as is shown by the Attāvāra¹ (Mangalore Taluk) inscription of Bukka I which is the earliest dated Vijayanagara inscription so far discovered in South Kanara and which is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Māgha 14, Monday = A.D. 1345, January 17.

Vijayanagara inscriptions are by far the largest in number among epigraphs discovered in South Kanara. Dated records of all the emperors who are known to have ruled over the

1 SII., VII, No. 179.

empire have been found in the region. It will be mere repetition to trace the dynastic history of Vijayanagar as revealed by the South Kanara inscriptions. It will suffice the purpose of this Chapter if only such of these records which throw new light and which go contrary to known facts are discussed hereunder.

The circumstances which brought about the annexation of South Kanara into the empire are not revealed by available epigraphical material. The Muhammadan cavalry had everywhere weighed against the defending armies of the Hindus. The rulers of Vijayanagara could hope to build up a formidable cavalry only with the help of horses imported from Arabia and for doing this they needed suitable ports. It is not unlikely that South Kanara, which possessed such ports in Mangalore and Bārakūru, was annexed into the empire on this account.

The reign of Harihara I (A.D. 1336-57) is represented by an inscription² from Kāntāvara, Karkala Taluk. This inscription is dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Vṛishabha 4, Tuesday. Harihara I and Harihara II ruled from A.D. 1336-57 and 1377-1404 respectively. During these years, the cyclic year Sarvadhāri fell only once in A.D. 1348, during Harihara I's reign, and the given details of date regularly correspond to April 29, A.D. 1348. The king receives the title of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and his pradhāna Gautarasa is stated to be ruling over the Māṅgalūru-rājya.

2 Ibid., No. 231.

Another damaged inscription from Udipi records some grants by Vīra Harihararāya to the god Kṛishṇa. The available details of date read Durmukhi, Phālguna. This cyclic year should be referred to A.D. 1356-57 and the inscription, in that case, was issued sometime between the 20th February and the 21st of March in A.D. 1357, and the ruler must be identified with Harihara I.

Within a decade after his accession, Harihara I made his younger brother Bukka I, whose records make their appearance elsewhere as early as in A.D. 1344, a joint ruler. We have seen above that the earliest Vijayanagara inscription from South Kanara, found in Attāvara and belonging to A.D. 1345, belongs to the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bukkapṇa-Oḍeya (i.e. Bukka I). This record states that Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya was governing Maṅgalūrārājya. It is obvious from this that Śaṅkaradēva Oḍeya was a predecessor of Gautarasa in the office of the governorship of Maṅgalūr-rājya.

Bukka I's reign ended in A.D. 1377. His latest inscription⁴ found in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1298, Nāḷa, Kārttika su. 3, Thursday = A.D., 1376, October 16.

While, for the reign of Harihara I, we have only the Kāntāvara and Udipi records, for the reign of his successor Bukka I we have, apart from the earliest and latest records

2 Ibid., No. 231

3 Ibid., No. 303



of his reign from Attāvara and Bārakūru, twenty nine more inscriptions which directly refer themselves to his reign. Most of these records register gifts of land and/or money to various deities and / or brāhmanas either by the emperor or by his governor or by private individuals. But an inscription⁵ from Keragāl, Coondapur Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Sarvajit, Vaisākha ba. 5, Mondya = A.D. 1347, April 30, without making any reference to the reigning emperor, records the interesting fact that two individuals Gōvinda and Kṛishna by name, made some grants to the god Tirumūrti in expiation of the sin of killing a brāhmaṇa when Mahāpradhāna Maleya-dannāyaka was governing the Bārakūru-rājya from his headquarters at Bārahakanyāpura.

From Udipi comes the earliest copper-plate inscription⁶ as yet discovered in South Kanara. Dated in Śaka 1275, Nandana, Mārgasīra su. 2, Saturday = A.D. 1352, November 10, it belongs to the reign of Bukka I but refers only to his governor in Bārakūru-rājya, Maleyadannāyaka. The charter registers a deed of land partition effected in the presence of the said governor by three private individuals.

The only informations, important for the political history of South Kanara, to be gathered from these inscriptions are the names of the governors who were appointed by the emperor^{on} to rule over the Bārakūru and Māṅgalūru rājyas. Of these,

4 Ibid., No. 341

5 ARIE., 1961-62, No. 621.



Bārakūru-rājya comprised of the Udipi and Coondapur Taluks while in the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya were included the Mangalore, Karkala, Puttur and Kasargode Taluks.

The names of the Governors who ruled over these two rājyas under Haṁhara I and Bukka I are given below along with their earliest and latest known dates:

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	January 17, A.D. 7	October 3, A.D. 8
Maleyadanpāyaka	1345	1365
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	December 15, 9	October 21, A.D. 10
Gōparasa-Ōḍeya	A.D. 1366	1373
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	October 16, 11
Bacharāsa-Ōḍeya	A.D. 1376	

6 ARSIE., 1928-29, App. A. No. 16.

7 SII., VII, No. 179.

8 Ibid., No. 332

9 Ibid., No. 306

10 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 415

11 Ibid., VII, No. 341.

Mangalūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Śaṅkaradēva- Oḍeya	January 17, A.D. 1345
Haḍapada Gautarasa	April 29, A.D. 1348 ¹²
Mādarasa	August 19, A.D. 1364 ¹³
Paṇḍaridēva- Oḍeya	June 14, A.D. 1375 ¹⁴	October 26, A.D. 1375 ¹⁵

Maleya-danṇāyaka who governed the Bārakūru-rājya i.e. the northern half of the Ālupa kingdom for over two decades right from the time of the region's annexation by the rulers of Vijayanagara, and who had for his headquarters the Ālupa Capital of Bārakūru itself, must have contributed much towards the establishment of imperial authority over the Tulu country. Bārakūru offers the strange picture of having been the seat of three powers until in A.D. 1348 one of them, Chikkāyi-

12 Ibid., No. 231.

13 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 408

14 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 475

15 Ibid., No. 460. This governor continued in office even after Bukka I's reign.

Tāyī, the queen of Hoysala Ballāḷa III, makes her exit. During the governorship of Maleya-dannāyaka, the Ālupa throne had been occupied by three successive rulers, Kulasēkhara II (A.D. 1335-46), Bankiḍeva III (A.D. 1346-55) and Kulasēkhara III (A.D. 1355-90). The Vijayanagara and the Ālupa inscriptions contain no references whatever to each other and this may be interpreted to mean that each was holding its power independent of the other. It is, however, certain that with the advent of Vijayanagara authority, the Ālupas were relegated to the position of an unimportant and inconsequential power. This is best proved by the numerous Vijayanagara inscriptions which appear during this period in South Kanara as against only a handful of Ālupa records.

It is also likely that the Ālupas had lost all their military initiative and continued to rule only under imperial sufferance. It is significant, in this regard, that the appellation dannāyaka (= danḍa-nāyaka i.e. army general) is applied to Maleya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

Bukka I was succeeded by his son Harihara II in A.D. 1377. His earliest inscription¹⁶ in South Kanara is from Bantvāl-Mūḍa, Mangalore Taluk, and is dated in Śaka 1299, Piṅgala, Simha 10, Saturday = A.D. 1377, August 8. Harihara II is known to have reigned till A.D. 1404 and his latest inscription¹⁷ found in South Kanara, from Atrāḍi, Udipi Taluk,

16 Ibid., No. 519.

17 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 238.

is dated Śaka 1327, Tārāpa, Vaisākha su. 8, Thursday = A.D. 1404, April 18, Friday (and not Thursday). The names of the Governors who were appointed during his reign to administer the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru rājyas as also their known dates are given below:

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Bommarasa- Oḍeya	November 2, 18 A.D. 1377	A.D. 1380-81 ¹⁹
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Jakkampa- Oḍeya	April 28, 20 A.D. 1382	May 22, 21 A.D. 1384
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Mallappa- Oḍeya	January 2, 22 A.D. 1386	...

18 SII., Vol. IX, Part II, No. 417.

19 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 325. The only details of date given in the record are Śaka 1302, Raudri.

20 Ibid., No. 329.

21 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 357.

22 SII., Vol. VII, No. 351.

<u>Pradhāni</u> Jakkappa- Oḍeya	September 18, 23 A.D. 1386	. . .
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Mallappa- Oḍeya	May 3, A.D. 24 1387	February 16, 25 A.D. 1390
<u>Mahāprādhāna</u> Singappa- Oḍeya	July 29, 26 A.D. 1392	. . .
<u>Śaṅkaradēva</u> - Oḍeya alias <u>Haggade Śaṅ</u> - karasa	April 12, 27 A.D. 1393	April 2, 28 A.D. 1394
Mallappa-Oḍeya	March 8, 29 A.D. 1395	July 7, A.D. 30 1396

23 Ibid., No. 317.

24 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 497.

25 SII., Vol. VII, No. 353.

26 Ibid., No. 344.

27 Ibid., No. 356.

28 Ibid., No. 299.

29 Ibid., No. 363.

30 Ibid., No. 342.

<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	July 4,	
Nāgarasa-	A.D. 1399 ³¹	
Oḍeya		
Basavamṇa-	August 11,	September 6,
Oḍeya	A.D. 1400 ³²	A.D. 1403 ³³
Mahābaladēva-	February 12,	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1404 ³⁴	
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	April 18,	. . .
Basavamṇa-	A.D. 1404 ³⁵	
Oḍeya		

Māṅgalūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Paṇḍaridēva	August 8, A.D. 1377 ³⁶	. . .
Mādarasa	December 4, A.D. 1379 ³⁷	. . .

31 Ibid., No. 350.

32 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 423

33 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 270

34 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 486

35 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 238

36 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 416

37 Ibid., No. 418.

Vira Chamna- rasa-Oḍeya	October 29, 38 A.D. 1385	. . .
Māṅgarasa	March 26, 39 A.D. 1388	. . .
Mallarasa	April 5, 40 A.D. 1389	. . .
Māṅgarasa- Oḍeya	June 11, 41 A.D. 1390	
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Līṅgarasa- Oḍeya	December 8, 42 A.D. 1390	. . .
<u>Haḍapada</u> Mādarasa	June 28, 43 A.D. 1396	January 19, 44 A.D. 1398
Basavanna- Oḍeya	January 13, 45 A.D. 1404	...

38 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 531.

39 Ibid., No. 474

40 Ibid., No. 465

41 SII., Vol. VII, No. 229

42 ARIE., 1958-59, No. 652

43 SII., Vol. VII, No. 183

44 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 469. This record states that

Mādarasa was the son of Paṇḍaridēva who may be identified with his namesake who served as governor of the Maṅgaluru-rājya earlier in A.D. 1375-77.

Nāganna-Oḍeya

March 26,⁴⁶
A.D. 1404

. . .

From the above lists, we learn that changes in the office of the governors of the two rājyas were frequently effected and that the same person was eligible for re-appointment to the post after intervals. Such were the cases with Mallappa-Oḍeya who governed Bārakūru-rājya for three different terms, Jakkanna-Oḍeya who administered the same territory on two idfferent occasions and of Maṅgarasa-Oḍeya who served as governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya twice.

47

Two inscriptions from Bārakūru, dated respectively in Śaka 1308, Kshaya, Māgha 'su. 1, Tuesday = A.D. 1386, January 2, and Śaka 1310, Prabhava, Āshāḍha 'su. 1, Monday = A.D. 1387, June 17, declare that Mallappa-Oḍeya was governing, from his capital at Bārakūru, the Tuḷu, Haiva and Koṅkana rājyas. By Tuḷu-rājya is obviously meant the whole of the Tuḷu country comprising the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas. This phenomenon of these two rājyas being united into one unit and brought under the administration of one governor will be seen repeating itself in later reigns of the empire. Haive is the southern parts of the North Kanara District while

45 Ibid., No. 464.

46 Ibid., No. 470.

47 SII., Vol. VII, Nos. 351 and 347 respectively.

Konkana represented the northern parts of the district lying south of Goa. Many inscriptions from territories adjacent to South Kanara show that the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya was simultaneously administering these regions, a fact which finds only very rare mention in the records from South Kanara itself.

48

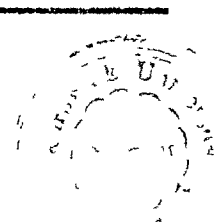
An interesting inscription from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1310, Prabhava, Vaisākha su. 15, Friday = A.D. 1387, May 3, refers to Mallappa-Oḍeya as merely ruling over the city of Bārakakanyāpura (Bārakā-kan'yāpura nagaramam-āle). It further states that Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara, kumāra Pratāpa-Bukkarāya was ruling over Niruvāra-Paṁchamiya-grāma. This Bukkarāya is no doubt identical with Harihara II's second son Bukka II who reigned for a short time as one of his father's successors.

49

Another inscription from Bārakūru, dated in Śaka 1308, Kshaya, Bhādrapada ba. 10, Wednesday = A.D. 1386, September 18, Tuesday (and not Wednesday) states that Jakkappa-Oḍeya, who was governing the Bārakūru-rājya, was the pradhāni of Mudda-danpāyaka, the mahāpradhāna of Harihara II. It will be seen below that some of the governors in the Tulu country were appointed by senior officers who held high positions under the emperors. In this instance, Mudda-danpāyaka ~~may~~

48 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 497.

49 SII., Vol. VII, No. 317.



may have been placed in charge of the Tulu country and he, in his turn, appointed his own subordinate officers to govern over the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru rājyas.

50

Yet another inscription from Bārakūru, dated in Śaka 1314 (expired), 1315 (current), Āṅgiras, Śrāvapa śu. 10, Monday = A.D. 1392, July 29, states that Mahāpradhāna Sim-ganna-Oḍeya was administering the Tulu and Malaha rājyas from his headquarters at Bārakūru. In this case again, the Tulu country comprised of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru rājyas and by Malaha was meant, in all probability, North Malabar in Kerala State.

51

An inscription from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1324, Viṣu, Śrāvapa śu. 12, Sunday = A.D. 1401, July 22, Friday (and not Sunday) states that Basavanna-Oḍeya was administering the rājya from his head-quarters at Bārakūru under the grace (sva-kāruṇya) of Mahāpradhāna Gōpeya-dannāyaka-Oḍeya who is described as the pāda padm-ōpajīvi of Harihara II. It is clear from this that Basavanna-Oḍeya owed his appointment to the Mahāpradhāna.

Among the governors of Maṅgaḷuru-rājya listed above, we have seen that Paṇḍaridēva had served under Bukka I also.

52

An inscription from Tāruvaḷlu, Mangalore Taluk, dated

50 Ibid., No. 344.

51 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 425

52 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 465.

in Śaka 1312, Śukla, Mēsha 11, Monday = A.D. 1389, April 5 and referring to the administration of Mallarasa over Maṅga-lūru-rājya records a grant to the temple of Amṛitanātha by Padumaladevi, the daughter (lomāri) of Kāmadēvarasa who claims to belong to the Mukkappa-Kadambavamsa. It is not stated in the record if Kāmadēvarasa was ruling over the region as a feudatory.

53

An inscription from Mūdabidure, Karkala Taluk, dated in Śaka 1312, Śukla, Mithuna 15, Friday = A.D. 1390, June 11, Saturday (and not Friday) mentions Maṅgarasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya and Maṁjanna-adhikāri as administering the region of Bidire (i.e. modern Mūdabidire). The inscription records a gift of land to Chaṇḍōgra-Pārśvadēva during the reign of the Chauṭa ruler Vikra-Chauṭa. Vikra appears to have been wrongly engraved for Vikrama.

The Chauṭas were a minor family of Jaina chieftains who ruled over a small territory in the Tulu country from the 12th to the 13th centuries.⁵⁴ Their territory was around Uḷḷāḷa near Mangalore and they had for one of their capitals Sōmēśvara near Uḷḷāḷa. The earliest members of this family, whose names and dates are known, are as follows:⁵⁴

53 SII., Vol. VII, No. 229.

54 QJMS., Vol. XLVI, pp. 69-71.

Tirumalarāya

(A.D. 1160-1179)

|

Chennarāya

(A.D. 1179-1219)

|

Dēvarāya

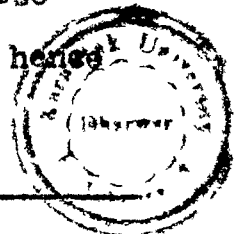
(A.D. 1219-1245).

The names and dates of the immediate successors of Dēvarāya-chauṭa are not known. Vikra-Chauṭa appears to have set up his headquarters at Mūdabidure.

55

Two inscriptions from Kaikini, Bhatkal Taluq, North Kanara District, bear witness to the earliest recorded rebellion in the Tulu country against the imperial authority of Vijayanagara. Both these records belong to the reign of Harihara II and are dated in the cyclic year Bahudhānya, Pushya su. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1398, December 10, Tuesday (and not Thursday).

The two inscriptions are in the nature of hero-stones commemorating the heroic death, no doubt in the same battle, of Jakkanna-nāyaka and his son Tammanāyaka, whose deaths are recorded in one inscription, and of Jakkanna-nāyaka, the son of Bommanṇa-nāyaka, the rājaguru of Nagire, whose death is recorded in the other. The battle which brought about these deaths is important for the history of South Kanara and hence needs to be studied in detail.



Both the inscriptions state, in identical terms, that on the given date Mahāpradhāni Maṅgapa-dappāyaka carried his arms into Tulu-rājya and encamped at Bidire and that he subsequently routed the Chavaṭa (i.e. Chauṭa) forces. Having achieved this victory against the Chauṭas, Maṅgapa ordered his men to escort back the forces of Mahā-maṇḍalāśvara Hayivarasa of Nagire. When this was being done, the Chauṭas fell upon the invaders and in the battle which ensued the heroes, commemorated in the two records, fought valiantly and, after overwhelming the Chauṭas, fell and died.

It is thus clear from the above inscriptions that the imperial forces under Maṅgapa-dappāyaka were supported by the army of the Nagire Chief Hayivarasa in their fight against the Chauṭas. Harihara II was a powerful monarch and it is surprising that a minor chieftain of the Tulu country should have chosen to question his authority. Maṅgapa-dappāyaka was perhaps stationed with an army in the Naive region of North Kanara and brought along with him the forces of Hayivarasa at the time of invading the Tulu country. The name of the Chauṭa chieftain who was thus defeated is not given in the records. It may have been Vikra-Chauṭa of the Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1390 discussed above or his successor.

Haivarasa belonged to the family of Jaina chieftains who ruled over the Nagire-rājya comprising the southern extremes of the North Kanara District and the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. The ruling house of Nagire was one of the families which held sway over small principalities in the South and North Kanara Districts during the Vijayanagara period and which associated themselves with the dynastic name of Sāluva. Inscriptions of the Nagire Chiefs found in South and North Kanara Districts claim that Nagire-rājya and its capitals Geresoppe and Nagire were situated in the Tulu⁵⁶ country.

By A.D. 1404, in which year the reign of Harihara II came to its end, the Ālupa power appears to have virtually disappeared. It has been shown in the previous chapter that the last known Ālupa ruler was Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II and that his only inscription belongs to A.D. 1397. ✓

Harihara II was succeeded by his eldest son Virū-pāksha I who ruled for a short period in A.D. 1404-05. His⁵⁷ only inscription found in South Kanara is from Hachavettu, Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1326, Tārana, Makara 6, Thursday, Solar eclipse = A.D. 1405, January 1. It merely records

⁵⁶ SII., Vol.VII, Nos. 202 and 207; Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. / Nos. /

⁵⁷ ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 519.

a grant of land to the temple of Mahādēva at Iṭṭala by one Kāntapa-Mārāluva alias Kōṃpa and makes no reference to the governor of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

Virūpāksha I was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Bukka II who reigned for less than two years in A.D. 1405-06. His earliest inscription ⁵⁸ in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1328, Pārthiva, dvitīya Āshāḍha ⁵⁹ su. 1, Saturday = A.D. 1405, June 27 while his latest record comes from Mūdabidure, Kārkala Taluk and is dated in Śaka 1329, Vyaya, Bhādrapada su. 10, Wednesday = A.D. 1406, August 24, Tuesday (and not Wednesday).

The Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1405, mentioned above, is of special interest. We gather from this record that Mahābala^ḍēva who, as we have shown above, was the governor of Bārakūru-rājya in A.D. 1404 when Harihara II was emperor, had seriously interfered with the office and functions of the seṭṭitana of the halaru of hattukēri who included the nakhara-haṇṇamāna of the city of Bārakūru. An appeal was, in consequence, made to Bukka II who directed Mahāpradhāna Bāchappa of Gōve (i.e. Goa) to enquire into the affair. Bāchappa, accordingly, paid a visit to Bārakūru and after conducting an enquiry arranged for compensations to the aggrieved parties. The record

58 SII., Vol. VII, No. 349.

59 Ibid., No. 211.

tells us that the appeal to the emperor was made by Chikkappa who was the sthānapati of the hattukēri of Bārakūru. This incident clearly proves that the people of the locality were not helpless against imperial officers when the latter were in the wrong.

Bāchappa-Oḍeya, who came from Gōve to settle this problem, was subsequently made the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.⁶⁰ He was also appointed governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya⁶¹ as is revealed from a copper plate inscription from Kukke, Puttūr Taluk which belongs to the reign of Bukka II and is dated Śaka 1329, Vyaya, Chaitra su. 1 probably = A.D. 1406, March 21, Sunday. The text of this inscription gives his name as Bāchappa-Oḍeya but he signs his name towards the end of the record as Bāchappa. Bukka II's latest known inscription from Mūdabidure, also mentioned above, states that Bāchappa-Oḍeya was governing Maṅgalūru-rājya during the pradhānika of Mahāpradhāna Jommana-dannāyaka. The latter was probably in overall charge of the two coastal provinces of the empire.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 435.

⁶¹ ARSIE., 1928-29, App. A, No. 3. The name of the governor is wrongly read here as Bāvappa-Oḍeya.

Bukka II was succeeded sometime in A.D. 1406 by his younger brother Dēvarāya I who is known to have reigned upto A.D. 1422. His earliest inscription⁶² in South Kanara is from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk and is dated Śaka 1330 Sarvajit, Āsvayuja ba. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1407, September 18, while his latest available record⁶³ from that region is from Paḍuvari, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1344, Plava, Kārttika su. 1, Monday = A.D. 1421, October 27. Dēvarāya I's early inscriptions from the Bārakūru region reveal that Bāchappa-Oḍeya was continued in the office of governor of the Bārakūru-rājya. The names and dates of the governors of the two rājyas during the reigns of Virūpāksha I, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I are given below:

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Bāchappa or	June 27, A.D. ⁶⁴	December A.D. ⁶⁵
Bāchappa-Oḍeya	1405	1411
of Gove		

62 Ibid., App. B, No. 498.

63 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 545.

64 SII., Vol. VII, No. 349.

65 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 435.

<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	February 12,	October 8,
Śaṁkaradēva-	66	67
Oḍeya	A.D. 1413	A.D. 1420

Māṅgalūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Bāchappa or	March 21, A.D.	August 24, A.D.
Bāchappa-Oḍeya	68	69
of Gōve	1406	1406
 Timmappa-	 June 2, A.D.	 ...
Oḍeya	70	
	1410	
 <u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	 October 14, A.D.	 January 17,
Kēsappa-Oḍeya	71	72
	1414	A.D. 1417
 Annappa-Oḍeya	 April 18, A.D.	 ...
	73	
	1417	

66 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 310.

67 Ibid., No. 365.

68 ARSIE., 1928-29, App. A, No.3.

69 SII., Vol. VII, No. 211.

70 Ibid., No. 259.

71 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 471.

72 ARSIE., 1961-62, App. B, No. 638.

73 SII., Vol. VII, No. 261.



Timmappa-	March 8,	. . .
Oḍeya	⁷⁵ A.D. 1418	
<u>Haḍanada</u>	August 31,	. . .
Nāgappa-	⁷⁵ A.D. 1418	
Oḍeya		

Of the governors of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, Kēsappa-Oḍeya⁷⁶ is stated in an inscription as appointed to the post by order of Mahāpradhāna Bayichaya-daṇḍanāyaka. The latter appears to have enjoyed for a long time a position of importance in the Tulu country. The earliest reference to Bayichaya-daṇḍanāyaka is to be found in the Nīlāvara inscription of A.D. 1387, of the reign of Harihara II. We have pointed out above that this epigraph refers to the rule of the prince Bukka II over Niruvāra-pañchamiya-grāma. It refers to Baichaya as one of the donors. Another inscription⁷⁷ from Bārakūru, belonging to A.D. 1389, refers to him as Mahāpradhāna Bayichaya-daṇḍanāyaka and records a gift by his son⁷⁸ Sarvappa-daṇḍanāyaka. Yet another inscription from Manga-

74 Ibid., No. 182.

75 ARIE., 1961-62, No. 637.

76 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 471.

77 SIL., Vol. VII, No. 391.

78 Ibid., No. 182.

lore, belonging to March, A.D. 1418, states that Dēvarāya I conferred the Maṅgalūru-rājya on Bayicha-dannāyaka and that the latter, in his turn, appointed Timmappa-Oḍeya as its governor.

In April 1417 A.D., Annappa-Oḍeya is stated to be ruling over Maṅgalūru and Bārakūru-rājyas. However, a number of inscriptions dated between A.D. 1413 and 1420 refer to Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. Moreover, no other records referring to Annappa-Oḍeya have come down to us. It is, therefore, likely that he was only the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya and that, during Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya's brief absence elsewhere, he was in charge of the Bārakūru-rājya also.

Timmappa-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya was, like Mahābaladēva, one of his predecessors in that office, involved in an affair with the Hañjamāna. The inscription which records this incident belongs to A.D. 1418 and narrates that, while they were conducting themselves in accordance with established rules and custom, Timmappa-Oḍeya, for no reason whatever, attacked the Hañjamāna with his soldiers and laid waste four or five villages which were under their jurisdiction. This news having reached the ears of the emperor, the general and Bayicha-dannāyaka, they were pleased

79 Ibid., No. 261.

80 Ibid., No. 182.

to instruct Timmappa-Oḍeya to offer reparations to the suffering Hañjamāna. The latter obeyed the instruction after holding an enquiry with the help of his *pradhānis*, the Chauṭa, the Bāga and the Ajīla chieftains and the *samasta-katṭale*.

Dēvarāya I was succeeded for a short time in A.D. 1422 by his elder son Rāmachandra. South Kanara has yielded only one inscription⁸¹ belonging to his reign. It is from Kuttūr, a hamlet of Hegguñje in Udipi Taluk, and bears the date Śaka 1345, Śubhakṛit, Chaitra ba. 8, Tuesday = A.D. 1422, April 14. It records a gift of land to god Mahādēva by a private individual when Haridēva-Oḍeya was governor of Bāra-kūru-rājya.

In the same year (A.D. 1422) Rāmachandra was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayarāya I. His earliest inscription⁸² from South Kanara is to be found at Kadiri, Mangalore Taluk and it is three weeks earlier in date to the inscription of Rāmachandra mentioned above. It may be concluded from this that the latter was not expected to reign for any length of time, perhaps owing to some mortal illness. The Kadiri inscription is dated Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Chaitra su. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1422, March 23, Monday (and not Sunday) and the king is named therein as Vijaya-Bhūpatirāya.

81 *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 317.

82 *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 192.

We learn from this record that Nāgappa, who had served under Dēvarāya I as the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, continued in the same office. In this instance, however, he is stated to have been appointed to the post by Mahāpradhāna Bayicha-dappāyaka whose position of importance in the Tulu country has been already alluded to. Another inscription⁸³ from the same place and belonging to the same reign is dated in Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Phālguna¹ su. 5, Monday = A.D. 1423, February 15 and it refers to Nāgappa-Oḍeya's administration over Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under orders from Bayicha-dappāyaka.

⁸⁴
The latest available record for this reign is from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk. It is dated Kali 4524, Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Bhādrapada ba. 8, Saturday = A.D. 1423, August 28, F.D.T. .16 and gives the name of the king as Vijaya-Bukka-rāya. Virupanna-Oḍeya is herein stated to be governing Bārakūru-rājya.

The exact reign period of Vijayarāya is difficult to fix. It is generally beheived⁸⁵ that he may have ruled for above^{at} five years until A.D. 1426. His son and successor, Dēvarāya II, was actively associated with him in the administration of the empire and, at least as far as South Kanara was concerned he appears to have been considered as the monarch after the date of the Hosāḷa inscription of Vijayarāya.

83 Ibid., No. 195.

84 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 266.

85 A History of South India, II end., p. 259.

The earliest inscription⁸⁶ of Dēvarāya II is also from Hosāḷa and is dated in Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Kārttika su. 12, Sunday = A.D. 1423, October 16, Saturday (and not Sunday).⁸⁷ Dēvarāya II is taken to have ended his reign in A.D. 1446. However, the latest date for Dēvarāya II, as given in an inscription⁸⁸ from Barakūru, is Śaka 1371 (expired), 1372 (current), Śukla, Chaitra ba. 10 probably = A.D. 1449 April 18, Friday. The contents of this record, to be discussed below, show that the inscription should not be dismissed as a freak.

It is known that towards the end of his reign, a plot was hatched by his own brother to murder Dēvarāya II by administering poison. Though the plot failed to achieve its main purpose, Dēvarāya may have fallen seriously ill. The Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1449, referred to above, states that Rāyaraśa-Oḍeya, who was then the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, went, at the bidding of the emperor, to the shores of the Western sea and made a grant of 68 kāṭi-gadyāṇas (gold pieces) in order that the peril which the emperor faced may cease (Immadi Dēvarāya-mahā-rāyarige bāṇḍamthā kāmṭaka nishkāmṭakav-āgi āyushy-āśhivṛiddhi āgabēk-āṇḍu). From this we may conclude that though Dēvarāya II survived the plot in which many of his trusted officers lost their lives, he fell a victim to some serious illness. The Bārakūru inscription states that the grant by Rāyaraśa-Oḍeya was

86 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 265.

87 A History of South India, II edn., p. 261.

88 SII., Vol. VII, No. 337.

made on the occasion of solar eclipse. The reference is obviously to the solar eclipse which occurred on Thursday the 29th of August, A.D. 1448. It is thus certain that Dēvarāya II was still fighting for his life at least on the latter date. The possibility of Dēvarāya II having ruled upto A.D. 1449 is further strengthened by the occurrence of a few more inscriptions elsewhere of Dēvarāya and belonging to the period A.D. 1446-49.⁸⁹ That Mallikārjuna makes his appearance even in A.D. 1447 as emperor should be interpreted to mean that Dēvarāya's illness was serious enough for him to have his son crowned emperor even during his own life time.

The names and dates of the governors of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas during the reigns of Rāmachandra, Vijayarāya I and Dēvarāya II are as follows:-

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Haridēva-Oḍeya	April 14, A.D. 90 1422	. . .

⁸⁹ Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, p. 79

⁹⁰ ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 317.



Virupanna-Oḍeya	December 8, 91 A.D. 1422	October 16, 92 A.D. 1423
<u>Mahāmantri</u> Narasimhadēva- Oḍeya	March 15, 93 A.D. 1425	September 18, 94 A.D. 1428
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Timmappa- Oḍeya	May 1, A.D. 95 1427	. . .
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Chāṇḍarasa- Oḍeya	September 12, 96 A.D. 1430	April, A.D. 97 1434
Purushōttamadēva	November 6, 98 A.D. 1433	
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u> Appappa-Oḍeya	November 25, 99 A.D. 1434	April 16, A.D. 100 1439

Ch. . .
Ch. . .
Ch. . .
Ch. . .

91 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 52.

92 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 265.

93 SII., Vol. VII, No. 384.

94 Ibid., No. 288.

95 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 48.

96 Ibid., No. 309.

97 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 246.

98 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 53 and 55.

99 Ibid., No. 245.

100 SII., Vol. VII, No. 318.



<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	January 19, 101	February 20, 102
Chandārasa-	A.D. 1440	A.D. 1442
Oḍeya		
Timmappa-Oḍeya	October 5, 103	December 14, 104
	A.D. 1442	A.D. 1444
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	April 11, A.D. 105	May 1, A.D. 106
Ācharasa-Oḍeya	1446	1446
Ruppanpa-	April 30, 107	October 10, 108
Oḍeya	A.D. 1447	A.D. 1447
Rāyarasa-	August 29, 109	April 2, A.D. 110
Oḍeya	A.D. 1448	1449

101 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 244.

102 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 448.

103 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 367.

104 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 450.

105 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 58.

106 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 553.

107 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 451.

108 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 590.

109 The solar eclipse, on which occasion Rājarasa is stated to have made the grant occurred on this date. See SII., Vol. VII, No. 337.

110 SII., Vol. VII, No. 337.

Mangalūru-rāja

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Nāgappa- Oḍeya	August 31, A.D. 111 1418	February 15, 112 A.D. 1423
Mahāpradhāna Timmappa- Oḍeya	May 1, A.D. 113 1427	October 28, 115 A.D. 1430
Dēvarāja-Oḍeya of Nāgaṁāṅala	January 29, 114 A.D. 1430	October 28 115 A.D. 1430
Anṇappa, son of Dēvarāja	November 10, 116 A.D. 1431	. . .
Dēvarāja- Oḍeya	October 25, 117 A.D. 1432	June 28, 118 A.D. 1433
Anṇappa- Oḍeya	April 13, 119 A.D. 1439	. . .

111 ARIE., 1961-62, App. B, No. 637.

112 SII., Vol. VII, No. 195.

113 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 48.

114 Ibid., No. 196.

115 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 442.

116 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 344.

117 Ibid., No. 349.

118 SII., Vol. VII, No. 230.

119 Ibid., No. 313.



Chandarasa-	May 31, A.D.	. . .
Oḍeya	¹²⁰ 1440	
Triyambakadēva	March 13, A.D.	. . .
Oḍeya	¹²¹ 1442	

Among the governors of Bārakūru-rājya, Narasimha-
¹²²
dēva-Oḍeya is stated in an inscription to be ruling under
the orders of Hariyappa-dannāyaka-Oḍeya. This record further
states that a grant made earlier by one Dēvappa-sēnabōva to
the god Kundāsvara of Coondapur having fallen into misuse,
the governor summoned the grāma, jagattu etc., and after due
enquiry, restored the grant without, at the same time, any
loss to the income of the palace.

¹²³
An inscription from Kaikipi in North Kanara Dis-
trict states that Timmappa-Oḍeya was administering Haive,
Tulu and Konkana from his headquarters at Hornāvara.

Chandarasa was appointed governor on two occasions,
first during A.D. 1430-34 and again during A.D. 1440-42. Ins-

120 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 346. The name of the
governor is wrongly given here as Apparasa-Oḍeya.

121 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 467.

122 SIL., Vol. IX, part II, No. 441.

123 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 48.

criptions belonging to the period of his first tenure in office declare that he was governing Bārakūra-Tulurājya. By this is obviously meant only the Bārakūru-rājya for, during the period in question (A.D. 1430-34), Maṅgalūru-rājya has its own governors. On the second occasion, however, he was made governor of both the rājyas.

During Chaṇḍarasa's governorship in A.D. 1430,¹²⁴ a serious difference arose between the inhabitants of chaṇḍikēri and mūrukēri, two adjacent parts of the city of Bārakūru. The feud resulted from a controversy as to the utilisation of crops and other groceries coming from beyond the Ghāṭs. Since the controversy had resulted in armed fights, the governor summoned to his court the five halaru of chaṇḍiyakēri and the three saṭṭi-kāras and the samasta-halaru of mūrukēri and effected a compromise between the contending groups. They accordingly undertook never again to use violence in settling their differences.

In January, A.D. 1432, Chaṇḍarasa-Ōḍeya is stated¹²⁵ to be governing Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Dēvarāya II and Perumāḷadēva-ḍaṇṇāyaka both of whom, according to the record, were

124 Ibid., Vol. VII, Nos. 309 and 340.

125 Ibid., No. 378.

ruling the empire from Vijayanagara. Perumāladēva-dappāyaka was apparently a very high official, next in importance only to the emperor himself.

It has been shown above that Annappa-Oḍeya was governing Bārakūru-rājya during A.D. 1434-39 and that in A.D. 1439, he was also governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may be reasonably supposed that he was at the same time governing both the rājyas during A.D. 1434-39. This is supported by the fact that even as early as in A.D. 1431, he was governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

A copper-plate inscription¹²⁶ from Surāla, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1358, Rākshasa, Margasīra śu. 14, Sunday = A.D. 1435, December 4, states that Annappa-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, made a gift of land called Āmpāra-haravari and of certain tolls in Muṅga-nāḍu, a subdivision of Bārakūru-rājya to Toḷahara Śāṅkaranāyaka who was administering Yeḷare with the stipulation that the latter should, in return, build a maṭha attached to the temple of Nārāyaṇadēva at Bārakūru and feed therein six Brāhmanas daily. A stone inscription¹²⁷ from Hosāla, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1359, Nāḷa, Kārttika śu. 2, Friday = A.D. 1436, October 12 records the gift of the same piece

¹²⁶ ARSIE., 1931-32, App. A, No. 3.

¹²⁷ Ibid., App. B, No. 263.

of land, with the king's permission by Toḷahara Śāṅkaranāyaka to the temple of Nārāyaṇadēva in hattukēri (i.e. Bārakūru) of the Tuḷu-rājya for feeding seven brahmanas daily, while Annappa was governing the Bārakūru-rājya.

A reference had been made in Chapter IV above to the minor ruling family of Toḷahas while discussing the Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1139 of the reign of Kavi-Āḷupendra. The next time we hear of a member of this family¹²⁸ in a record from Śāṅkaranārāyaṇa (Coondapur Taluk) which mentions one Mādāḍi-Toḷaha. He is not, however, referred to as the ruler of any territory. Barring the above records, the Surāla copper-plate and the Hosāla inscription are the earliest to refer again to the Toḷaha family and Śāṅkara-nāyaka is the second known name among its members. The Toḷaha principality was situated to the east of Bārakūru and they had their seat of power at Surāla. Yeḷare, over which Toḷaha Śāṅkaranāyaka is stated to be ruling, may have been the name of their principality.

Annappa-Oḍeya, while he was governor of Bārakūru-rājya, had to face some serious trouble in the Udipi region. An inscription¹²⁹ from the Krishṇa-maṭha at Udipi, dated in Śaka 1359, Nāḷa, Chaitra su. 10, Friday = A.D. 1436, March 28, Wednesday (and not Friday) states that in the cyclic year Ānanda (i.e. A.D. 1434-35) Annappa-Oḍeya, who was then governing Bārakūru-

128 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 425.

129 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 296.

rājya under the orders of Siṅgaṇa-danṇāyaka, who was himself administering the whole empire under the orders of Dēvarāya II, invaded and laid waste the village of Śivalḷi (i.e. modern Udipi and its surroundings). The reasons for this invasion are not given in the record which further states that the kattaleya-varu (officials), including the hattukēri of Bārakūru, were engaged in the task of appeasing and comforting the residents of Śivalḷi. During the disturbed conditions, the administration of the Kṛishṇa temple had fallen on evil days and even the idol of the god had been displaced. Then follows a number of grants made by one Siṅgarasa to the temple of Kṛishṇa as a result of an appeal carried to the emperor by the kattaleyavaru.

In A.D. 1439,¹³⁰ Annappa-Oḍeya is stated to be governing Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas under the orders of Lakhappa-danṇāyaka who was administering the whole empire. Likewise,¹³¹ in A.D. 1440 Chaṇḍarasa was governing the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas under the orders of the same officer. The same inscription informs us that one Rāmarasa was administering, on that date, Kaḍabarājya. Kaḍaba-rājya was a subdivision within Maṅgaḷūru-rājya and comprised the region around Kaḍaba, a village about 18 miles to the east of Puttūr.

130 SIL., Vol. VII, No. 88 318

131 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 346. The names of the officer and the governor are wrongly given here as Achappa-danṇāyaka and Apparasa.

132
An inscription of A.D. 1438 from Kaikini, North Kanara District, records a battle between Annappa Odeya, who was administering the Haive, Tulu and Konkana rāṣṭras from his headquarters at Honnāvura, and Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Bhairavādēva-Odeya, the ruler of Nagire-rājya. The inscription does not give the reason for the governor's invasion of Nagire. Annappa is, no doubt, identical with his namesake who served as governor of the Bārakūru and Maṅgalur rāṣṭras during A.D. 1431-39.

133
In A.D. 1442-43, Timmanna-Odeya was governing the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of the same Mahāpradhāna Lakṣmī-dānapāyaka.

134
In April, A.D. 1447, when Ruppanna-Odeya was governing Bārakūru-rājya, Gururāja-Odeya, who was in charge of the imperial treasury (bhāṇḍāra) at Vijayanagara, paid a visit to Kōṭēsvara and, in the name of the emperor, made some grants to the deity Kōṭēsvara.

135
In May, A.D. 1446 Acharasa-Odeya and in October, 136 A.D. 1447 Ruppanna-Odeya are stated to be governing the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Mādana-dānapāyaka.

137
Among the governors of Maṅgalūru-rājya, Dēvarāja-Odeya is stated, in A.D. 1430, to be governing, under the orders of

132 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 56. The name of the governor is wrongly read here as [Am]tappa-Odeya.

133 SIL., Vol. VII, No. 367; ARSIE., 1929-30, App.B, No. 588.

Mahāpradhāna Perumāḷadēva-dappāyaka who was administering the whole empire.

138

An inscription from Puttūr, Puttūr Taluk, belonging to November, A.D. 1431, states that Appappa, who was governing the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under the orders of Pradhāna Hariyappa-dappāyaka, was the son of Dēvarāja. The latter was, in all probability, identical with Dēvarāja of Nāgamaṅgala who preceded and then succeeded Appappa as the governor of the same rājya. This inscription says that Puttūr was included in the principality (sthāna) of Pāṇḍyapparasa, the Baṅga chieftain. The Baṅgas were a local family of Jaina rulers who held sway over the region around Puttūr with Beḷtaṅgaḍi for their headquarters.

We have seen above that in A.D. 1428, Tīmappa-Oḍeya the then governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya held discussions with his pradhānis as also with the local rulers belonging to the Baṅga, Chauḷa and Ajila houses before taking a decision beneficial to the hāṇjamānas subsequent to his actions against them. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Baṅgas occurs

134 Ibid., Vol. IX, Part II, No. 451.

135 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 553.

136 Ibid., No. 590.

137 SII., Vol. VII, No. 196; Vol. IX, part II, No. 442.

138 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 344.

139
in an inscription from Bappanāḍ near Mulki in Mangalore Taluk. This inscription, which is incomplete, is dated in Śaka 1333, Vikṛita, Mithuna, Amāvāsyā, Mṛigaśirā-nakṣatra = A.D. 1410, January 2, Monday, and refers to the Baṅga chief-tain Pāṇḍyapparasa and to the governorship over the Maṅgalūru-rājya of Tiṁmaṇṇa-Oḍeya under the orders of Dēvarāya I.

The next reference to a Baṅga ruler is met with
140
in an inscription from Pāvañje, Mangalore Taluk, dated in Śaka 1340, Hēviḷāmbi, Vaisākha śu. 10, Monday = A.D. 1417, April 18, Saturday (and not Monday). This inscription records a grant of land to a brāhmaṇa by Viṭhaladēvi, the Baṅga ruler. Like the other local Jaina houses, the Baṅgas followed the matriarchal system (aliya-santāna) of succession. Viṭhala-dēvi, therefore, may have been the sister of Pāṇḍyapparasa and may have succeeded her brother in view of her son's minority.

141
An inscription from Paḍuva-Papambūru, Mangalore Taluk, dated in Śaka 1359, Piṅgaḷa, Vaisākha śu. 14, Monday = A.D. 1437, April 19, Friday (and not Monday), records a grant to a brāhmaṇa by Pāṇḍyapparasa Baṅga, the son (kumāra) of Viṭhala-

139 SII., Vol. VII, No. 259.

140 Ibid., No. 261.

141 Ibid., No. 265.

dēvi. Undoubtedly this Pāṇḍyapparasa is identical with his namesake mentioned in the Puttūr inscription of A.D. 1431 discussed above. We have thus the names of three Baṅga chieftains who ruled under Dēvarāya I and II:-

Pāṇḍyapparasa I (A.D. 1410)

Vithaladēvi (A.D. 1417)

Pāṇḍyapparasa II

(A.D. 1431, 1437)

The Puttur inscription of A.D. 1431, referred to above, also included a gift of gold by Chauṭa Sānteya. Sānteya was, perhaps, the then ruling member of the Chauṭa family. The Baṅgas and Chauṭas ruled over adjacent principalities and the inclusion of a grant by a Chauṭa in an inscription which is important for the Baṅgas suggests that the latter were, among the two, the greater power. Sāntey^a was one of the successors of Vikra-Chauṭa whose mention in A.D. 1390 has been noticed above.

An inscription from Edemaṅgala, ¹⁴² Puttur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1354, Paridhāvi, Kārttika ¹su. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1432, October 25, Saturday (and not Sunday), states that Rāma-rasa of Kaḍaba-nāḍu assigned certain incomes from taxes from

Eḍemaṅgala for the feeding of brāhmanas under the orders of Dēvarāja-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. There is no doubt that this Rāmarasa of Kaḍaba-nāḍu is identical with his namesake mentioned as administering the Kaḍaba-rājya in the inscription of A.D. 1440 discussed above. The fact that Rāmarasa was ruling over the Kaḍaba region for at least a decade and, perhaps more, suggests that he was a member of some ruling family of the locality.

143

An inscription from Addūru, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1356, Ānanda, Mēsha 1, Sunday = A.D. 1434, March 27, Saturday (and not Sunday), registers a gift of land by the Chautā chief Jōgi-Oḍeya to a jōgi-puruṣa called Jugādikunḍala. With this inscription, we come to know of three Chautā names which are as follows:

Vikra-Chautā (A.D. 1390)

.

Sāntheya-Chautā (A.D. 1431)

.

Jōgi-Oḍeya Chautā (A.D. 1434)

With the end of Dēvarāya II's reign, a period of chaos and confusion set in the affairs of the empire. Dēvarāya II's elder son Vijayarāya seems to have been associated with the

administration of the empire for a brief period during A.D. 1446-47. No inscription referring to the latter has been discovered in South Kanara. From A.D. 1447, Dēvarāya II's younger son Mallikārjuna begins to style himself emperor and receives in the inscriptions all the usual sovereign titles and epithets. Mallikārjuna's earliest inscription¹⁴⁴ in South Kanara is from Baindūru in Coondapur Taluk and is dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Chaitra su. 10, Thursday = A.D. 1449, April 2, Wednesday (and not Thursday). He ended his reign in A.D. 1465 and his latest inscription¹⁴⁵ in South Kanara, from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1387, Pārthiva, Simha 15, Wednesday = A.D. 1465, August 13, Tuesday (and not Wednesday). A few inscriptions falling within these two dates refer themselves to the reign of Immadi-Dēvarāya. These must be assigned to the reign of Mallikārjuna himself who had the second name of Dēvarāya as is revealed by an inscription¹⁴⁶ from Basaruru, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1465, where the king is named Praudha-Immadi-Dēvarāya-Mallikārjuna.

Mallikārjuna was ousted from the throne in A.D. 1465 by Virūpāksha II, son of Dēvarāya II's brother. Mallikārjuna was a weak emperor but Virūpāksha, the usurper, was weaker and,

144 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 536.

145 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

146 Ibid., No. 459. Cf. Ibid., No. 460, also of A.D. 1465, wherein his name is given as Praudha Mallikārjuna Dēvarāya.

in addition, given to vice and pleasures. During his reign the empire faced the very danger of extinction and it was saved from this tragedy when Virūpāksha was set aside and the throne was occupied by Sāluva Narasimha. The earliest inscription¹⁴⁷ of Virūpāksha II in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated in Śaka 1387 Vyaya, Chaitra su. 12, Friday = A.D. 1466, March 28. The Sāluva usurpation took place in A.D. 1486. But Sāluva Narasimha did not do away with Virūpāksha, obviously for political reasons. The latter lingered on for almost a decade after his disgrace as is shown by his inscription¹⁴⁸ from Hosāla, Udipi Taluk which is dated in Śaka 1416 (expired), 1417 (current), Ānanda, Kārttika su. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1494, October 30, Thursday (and not Sunday).

Another inscription¹⁴⁹ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, provides the latest date for a ruler belonging to the First or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara. It is dated Śaka 1408 (expired), 1409 (current), Pṛavāṅga, Kārttika su. 5, Sunday = A.D. 1487, October 21, and refers itself to the reign of Pratāparāya, son of Virūpāksha.

The names and dates of the governors who served in the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas during the reigns of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha and Pratāparāya are as follows:-

147 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 320.

148 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 278.

149 SIL., Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.



Bārakuru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Dēvappa-Oḍeya	April 2, A.D. 1449 ¹⁵⁰	. . .
Līṅappa-Oḍeya	April 24, A.D. 1450 ¹⁵¹	. . .
Bhānappa-Oḍeya	October 30, A.D. 1451 ¹⁵⁴	. . .
Mahāpradhāna Paṇḍaridēva- Oḍeya	January 23, A.D. 1455 ¹⁵⁵	October 12, A.D. 1455 ¹⁵⁶
Bhānappa-Oḍeya	January 30, A.D. 1457 ¹⁵⁷	. . .
Guruvappa-Oḍeya	September 8, A.D. 1458 ¹⁵⁸	December 3, 1458 ¹⁵⁹ A.D. 1458

150 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 536, wherein the governor's name has not been given.

151 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 452.

152 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 551.

153 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 456.

154 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 368.

155 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 457.

156 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 589.

157 Ibid., 1930-31, No. 358.

158 SII., Vol. VII, No. 315.

159 Ibid., No. 336.

<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	October 4, 160	. . .
Dēvappa-dannāyaka	A.D. 1461	
Sankaradēva	November 5, 161	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1461	
<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	June 12, A.D. 162	October 16, 163
Lakkappa-	1463	A.D. 1463
Oḍeya		
Pandariḍēva-	February 16, 164	May 15, A.D. 165
Oḍeya	A.D. 1465	1465
Singarasa-	March 28, 166	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1466	
Vitharasa-	August 15, 167	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1467	
Konḍerāja-	November 28, 168	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1467	

160 Ibid., No. 338.

161 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 549.

162 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 504.

163 SII., Vol. VII, No. 361.

164 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 495.

165 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 459.

166 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 320.

167 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 461.

168 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 373.



<u>Mahāpradhāna</u>	March 27, A.D. 169	September 20, 170
Vitharasa-	1469	A.D. 1478
Oḍeya		
Pandaridēva-	February 3, 171	. . .
Oḍeya	A.D. 1482	
Virūpākshadēva-	October 28, 172	October 21, 173
Oḍeya	A.D. 1486	A.D. 1487

Mañsalūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Ganapanna-	April 8, A.D. 174	. . .
Oḍeya	1451	
Timmanna-dannā-	January, A.D. 175	
yaka	1456	
Vitharasa-	August 13, A.D. 176	January 24, 177
Oḍeya	1465	A.D. 1477

169 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 514.

170 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 469.

171 Ibid., No. 470.

172 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 250.

173 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.

174 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 197.

175 Ibid., No. 184.

176 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 469.

177 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 209.

Among the governor[s] of Bārakūru, Dēvappa-Oḍeya (A.D. 1449) was appointed to the post by Dēvappa-dannāyaka. Mahāpradhāna Vallabha-dannāyaka who, in A.D. 1451, appointed Bhanappa-Oḍeya as governor, is stated to be administering the empire. Dēvappa-Oḍeya owed his appointment to the post in A.D. 1454 to Singappa-dannāyaka who is stated to be the emperor's Mahāpradhāna. In A.D. 1455, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya is stated to have received his appointment from Timmapa-dannāyaka. Guruvappa-Oḍeya was made governor in A.D. 1458 by Mahāpradhāna Siddhapa-dannāyaka who was administering the whole empire (samastada-pāripatyava-māda).¹⁷⁸ Paṇḍaridēva was governing Bārakūra-Tulu-rājya in A.D. 1465 under the orders of Mahāpradhāna Rāma-chandra-Dannāyaka-Oḍeya.

During the sixth and seventh decades of the fifteenth century, Viṭharasa rose to great importance in the Tulu country. His earliest mention occurs in A.D. 1465 and we continue to hear of him even in A.D. 1477. For most of the time during these years, he served simultaneously as the governor of both the Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru rājyas. A study of his inscriptions from the Bārakūru region show⁸ that in A.D. 1467, he was made governor of Bārakūru by Mahāpradhāna Kāchappa-dannāyaka-Oḍeya; in A.D. 1472, he was made governor of Bārakūra-Tulurājya by Mahāpradhāna Siṅgarasa-dannāyaka-Oḍeya; and in A.D. 1475, he was appointed to the post by Singappa-dannāyaka. The later appointed, in A.D. 1482, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya as the governor of

Bārakūru-rājya.

Among the governors of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, Tiṁmappa-daṇṇāyaka owed his appointment to Naraharidēva-daṇṇāyaka. An inscription¹⁷⁹ of August, A.D. 1465 states that Viṭharasa-Oḍeya was made governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya by Mahāpradhāna Rāmachandra-daṇṇāyaka who, wearing the emperor's ring of authority (Mallikārjuna-mahārāyara mudrey-uṅgarava dharisī), was administering all the territories of the empire (samasta-rāṇeyava¹⁸⁰ pārupatyavavamu māde). Another inscription¹⁸¹ of August, A.D. 1474, states that Viṭharasa was made governor of Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rāḷyas by the orders of Siṅgappa-Daṇṇāyaka-Oḍeya. In A.D. 1476, Siṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka is described¹⁸¹ as administering all the imperial territories (samasta-rāṇeyava-gaḷannu pratipālīsuttiralu) when he made Viṭharasa governor of both the rāḷyas. This inscription gives us the interesting fact that Viṭharasa was governing the rājya along with (i.e. with the help of) the kattalevavaru, the Baṅgas and the Chautas (ā Viṭharasa-Oḍeyaru kattalevavaru Baṅgaru Chautaru saḥavāgi rāḷyavamu āluva-kāladalli).

A noteworthy inscription¹⁸² from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk, belonging to February A.D. 1465 states that Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, took stern measures against the subjects^c of Nīruvāra for their refusal to pay taxes. It further records

179 Ibid., Vol.IX, part II, No. 460.

180 ARSIE., 1929-30, No.5 28.

181 SII., Vol.VII, No. 194.

that on the orders of Mahāmapdalēśvara Rāmachandra-dappāyaka, it was stipulated that taxes payable to the imperial treasury should be paid without fail from thence. Among the signatories to the record is mentioned Pradhāni Viṭharasa-Oḍeya who was then, probably, governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. This inscription thus contains the earliest reference to Viṭharasa-Oḍeya.

Another inscription ¹⁸³ from Basūr^{ar}, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1465 records that the hañjamānas of Basarūru being unable to pay their taxes to the palace in gold, they surrendered their harvest and that the gold earned by the sale of this harvest was gifted to the god Mahādēva of paḍuva-kēri in Basarūru by Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

An inscription ¹⁸⁴ from Bārakūru, belonging to January, A.D. 1469 refers itself to the reign of Rājasēkhara-mahārāya. Rājasēkhara was the son of Mallikārjuna and this record, referring to his reign but belonging to a date when Virūpākṣa, who had forcibly ousted Rājasēkhara's father from the throne, was holding the reins of power, is a source of confusion. The explanation lies, perhaps, in the fact that in those days when feudatory chieftains and generals were the main power behind

182 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 495.

183 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 459.

184 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 371.

Vijayanagar, developments in the ruling dynasty itself had come to be ignored. This inscription records a grant to the deity Ādiparamēśvara and contains no reference either to Bāra-kūru-rājya or its governor.

To the period of Viṭharasa's long tenure as the governor of the two rājyas belong a few interesting inscriptions.

Thus, an inscription¹⁸⁵ of August, A.D. 1465, from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, informs us that Allappa-sēkhara Chauṭa was (ruling from his headquarters) at Puttige. It records a gift of land by the Chauṭa chieftain, along with his brothers Dēvarusēkhara, Bhīmappasēkhara and Boṃmappasēkhara to Mañjapasēkhara and his sisters for offerings to the goddess Poḷaladēvi. After Jōgi-Oḍeya-Chauṭa, whose mention in A.D. 1434 has been referred to above, Allappasēkhara's is the first Chauṭa name we come across in inscriptions. He is stated in the record as belonging to the Puttige lineage (janana) implying thereby that more than one Chauṭa family was exercising power in South Kanara.

An inscription¹⁸⁶ from Ujre, Puttur Taluk, belonging to July, A.D. 1469, which makes no reference to the Vijayanagara authority over South Kanara and which is in the form of an order given by Kāmirāya-arasa and Dēvaṇṇa-Koṭhāri to the residents of Ujiri, states that Viṭharasa-Oḍeya had attacked and burnt down the palace at Koḍeyāla and also the village

185 Ibid., Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

186 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 482.

of Nirumarga. Without narrating the developments which immediately followed this action, the record states that the village of Ujiri was granted to the aggrieved parties as a tax-free compensation. Then follows an order by Kāmirāya-arasa and Dēvappa Kōṭhāri to the residents of the village that the latter should in future remit their taxes to the former.

We learn from an inscription¹⁸⁷ from Indabetṭu, Puttur Taluk, belonging to A.D. 1473, that Kāmirāya-arasa was the ruler of the Baṅga principality. Dēvappa-Kōṭhāri was probably an official serving under the Baṅga chieftain. The circumstances which led to Viṭharasa's aggressive action against the Baṅgas, who were otherwise left to themselves by imperial authorities, are not known. But Viṭharasa's action appears to have received the sanction of his superiors, for unlike Mahā-baladēva and Timmappa-Oḍeya who were promptly relieved^e of their governorship after similar events, Viṭharasa continued to administer the whole of the Tulu country for years after A.D. 1465.

Kāmirāya-Baṅga appears to have succeeded Basavapparasa-Baṅga who figures in an inscription¹⁸⁸ of October, A.D. 1456 from Perḍūru in the Udipi Taluk. This inscription records a gift of land by the Baṅga chieftain to the god Janārdana-dēva at Peradūru. Basavapparasa may have been the direct successor of Papḍyapparasa II whose known dates, as shown earlier, fall in

187 *Ibid.*, No. 478.

188 *Ibid.*, No. 502.

A.D. 1431 and 1437.

An inscription ¹⁸⁹ from Chokkādi, Udipi Taluk, belonging to March, A.D. 1474 records that, during Vitharasa's governorship over the Bārakūru-rājya, a dispute having arisen over certain lands in Vodevūru between the Setṭikāras of the hattukēri of Bārakūru and the nakhara-haṇjamānas on the one side and the Niḍumbūras, Mūḍilas and the six Ballāḷus on the other, it was settled in favour of the former. The Niḍumbūras, Mūḍilas and Ballāḷus make their appearance in a number of inscriptions from South Kanara and appear to have been locally influential families of landlords.

An inscription ¹⁹⁰ from Udipi, belonging to January, A.D. 1476, records a political agreement entered into by three private parties when Viṭharasa was governor of Bārakūru-rājya. From this record we gather that Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe, Daggana-sēbita-Madda-heggaḍe and Kinnika-Heggaḍe were ranged against one another, in a serious dispute. These heggaḍes were probably holding tiny principalities and their mutual differences often resulted in armed conflicts. The record says that these three rivals met and agreed that they should thenceforward put an end to further intrusions into each other's territories. The record stipulates that none of the three should be attacked by the other either alone or in conjunction with the third.

189 Ibid., 1929-30, Nos. 579-80.

190 SII., Vol. VII, No. 304.



The absence of any reference to imperial authority in a number of inscriptions⁸ which fall into the period of Mallikārjuna's and Virūpākṣa's reigns bear ample testimony to the weakening of the central power at Vijayanagara. While a few of these merely record grants by private individuals and hence are not of any significance to the political history of the region and the period in question, some of them belong to local ruling houses and, therefore, are of importance. The more important of these are being discussed below.

191

The earliest of these inscriptions is from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, and is dated Śāka 1371, Chaitra su. 10, Thursday = A.D. 1449, April 2, Wednesday (and not Thursday). It records a gift of land for offerings and worship in the Pārśvanātha-basti by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Indagarasa-Oḍeya, son of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and ruler of Hāḍavaḷi-rājya. The principality of Hāḍavaḷi (of Hāḍuvaḷi)-rājya comprised of portions of the southern extremes of the North Kanara District and also portions of the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. It had for its head-quarters the modern village of Hāḍuvaḷi, also appearing in inscriptions in its Sanskritised form of Saṅgītapura (Kannada hāḍu = Sanskrit saṅgīta, song), situated in the Bhatkal Taluk of North Kanara District. This principality was, during the period in question, under the rule of a family of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who, as will be shown below, consi-

dered their subordination to Vijayanagara authority as a matter of mere convenience.

The earliest dated reference to this family occurs in an inscription ¹⁹² from Bhatkal, North Kanara District, dated in Śaka 1332 (wrong for 1330), Sarvadhāri, Kārtika sū. 10, Monday = A.D. 1408, October 29. This inscription records provisions made for the samuḍaya of the whole town, in memory of his deceased brother Mallirāya, by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Hāḍavallipuravarādhīśvara Saṅgirāya, the son of Haivarasa. Haivarasa, being the earliest member of the family that we know of, may have ruled in the second half of the fourteenth century. The origin of this family and the extension of Vijayanagara authority over this region were, perhaps coeval.

Another inscription ¹⁹³ also from Bhatkal and belonging to October, A.D. 1408, informs us that Saṅgirāya was born of Haiva-bhūpa and his queen Bhairādēvī. The inscription eulogises ⁸ Bhairādēvī in glowing terms and then refers to her death.

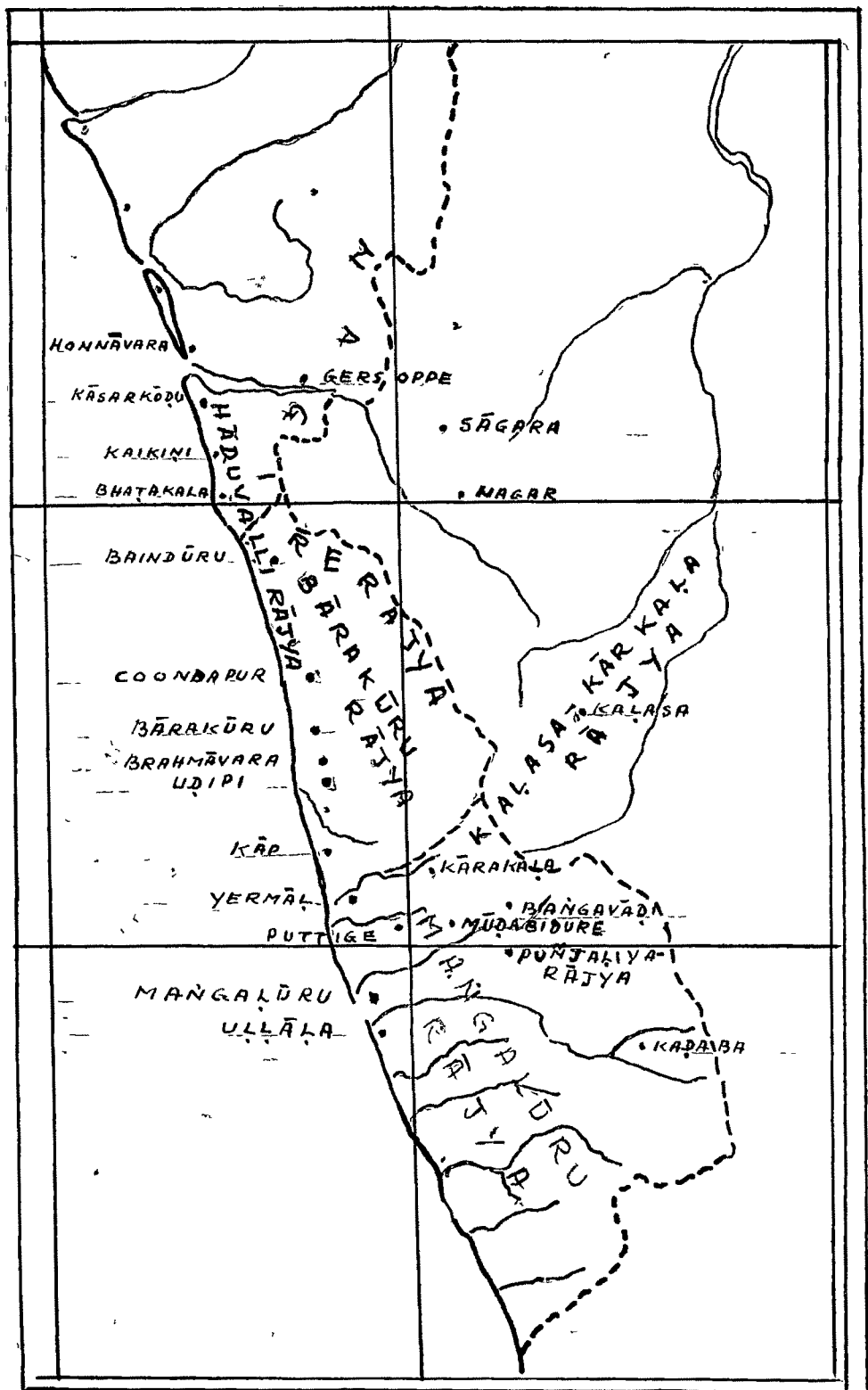
An inscription ¹⁹⁴ from Kaikini, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District, belonging to May, A.D. 1415, records the death of Mābunāyaka, a soldier of Saṅgirāya, in a battle which resulted

192 Karnatak Inscription, Vol. I, No. 38.

193 Ibid., No. 39.

194 Ibid., No. 40.

SOUTH KANARA DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD



from an invasion of Hāḍuvaḷḷi by Mahāpradhāna Śaṅkaradēva-
Oḍeya, who, as we have seen above, was at that time governor of
Bārakūru-rājya, and his Tulu army. The inscription itself
states that the invasion was necessitated by political deve-
lopments. In this record Saṅgirāya's father is referred to as
Nagireya-Haivarasa i.e. Haivarasa of Nagire.

The principality of Nagire-rājya was adjacent to that
of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya and, like the latter, comprised of portion⁸ of
the southern extremes of North Kanara District and portions of
southern extremes of North Kanara District and had the modern
town of Gersoppa, also referred to as Kshēmapura in inscriptions,
in the Gerṣoppa Taluk of North Kanara District as its capital.
The history of these two principalities overlap at so many
points and the names of contemporary rulers of these rājyas
are more often than not identical and both these have resulted
in much confusion. Being Jaina families, the Hāḍuvaḷḷi and
Nagire houses followed the aliya-santāna system of succession.
In the above case, therefore, we may venture to suggest that
Bhairādēvi, having been the oldest sister of the then ruler
of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya, her son born out of her marriage to Haivarasa,
the ruler of Nagire, succeeded to the throne of his uncle. Si-
milarly, Indagarasa, who is referred to as the son of Saṅgi-
rāya, must have been the latter's nephew. That the ruler
called his heir-apparent, even though he may be only his nephew
(aliya), as his son is borne out by the fact that among the
chieftains of Nagire, Kēsavadēva-Oḍeya called himself the grand-

son (¹⁹⁵~~momnaga~~) of Haivarasa while he is stated, in an inscription ¹⁹⁶ from Mūdabidure, Karkal Taluk, to have been the nephew (aliya) of Haivarasa's nephew.

If this is accepted, the name of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya's predecessor on the throne of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya can be fixed with the help of an inscription ¹⁹⁷ from Hāḍuvaḷḷi itself, belonging to August, A.D. 1423, wherein Saṅgirāya is stated to be the kumāra of Mādarasa-Oḍeya. The latter was, in all probability, the brother of Bhairādēvi and uncle and predecessor of Saṅgirāya. The latest available date for Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya is to be found in an inscription from Kaikini, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District, which is dated Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Chaitra su. 5, Wednesday = A.D. 1431, March 18, Sunday (and not Wednesday). *It is more than 100 years old.*

The earliest available date for Saṅgirāya's successor Indagarasa-Oḍeya is found in the Baindūru inscription of A.D. 1449 discussed above. As will be seen below, Indagarasa appears to have had an exceptionally long reign of over six decades. The genealogy of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi family upto Indagarasa is given below:-

195 Ibid., No. 42.

196 SII., Vol. VII, No. 202.

197 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 46.

Mādarasa-Oḍeya -

His sister Bhairādevī

(married to Halvarasa of Nagire)

Sāṅgirāya-Oḍeya

(known dates : A.D. 1402 to 1431)

⋮
⋮
⋮

Indagarasa-Oḍeya

(earliest known date : A.D. 1449).

198

Another inscription which also ignores any reference to Vijayanagara authority ^{and} which is only slightly later in date than the Baṇḍūru inscription of Indagarasa, is from Keravase, Karkala Taluk. This record is dated in Śaka 1371, Śukla, Kārttika su. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1449, October 17, Friday (and not Sunday). It refers itself to the reign, over Keravase and Kārakaḷa, of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarasa-Oḍeya, who receives epithets such as Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravārēśvar-ādhisvara, Padmāvatī-labha-vara-prasāda, bhāshega-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa, arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvapi etc. Of these epithets, the first two are typical of the Śāntaras, to whose sway over the Pombuchcha region frequent references have been made above. The connection between the Śāntaras and the family of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarasa suggested by these epithets is further confirmed by

an inscription¹⁹⁹ of April, A.D. 1523, from Varāṅga, Karkala, Taluk, which, while giving a genealogical account of this family, claims Nanni-Śānta to have been its progenitor.

Lewis Rice, who gives the name of 'Kalasa-Kārkala' to this family, observes:²⁰⁰ "The Kalasa-Kārkala kingdom was an extension below the Ghats into South Kanara of the original Śāntara kingdom of Pombuchcha. Kalasa is above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Kārkala below the Ghats, in South Kanara, in about the same latitude."

For the sake of convenience in narrating the history of this family, the genealogical account/a[s] given in the Varāṅga inscription, referred to above, is furnished here-under:

Nanni-Śānta

|

Sahakāra

|

Jinadatta

|

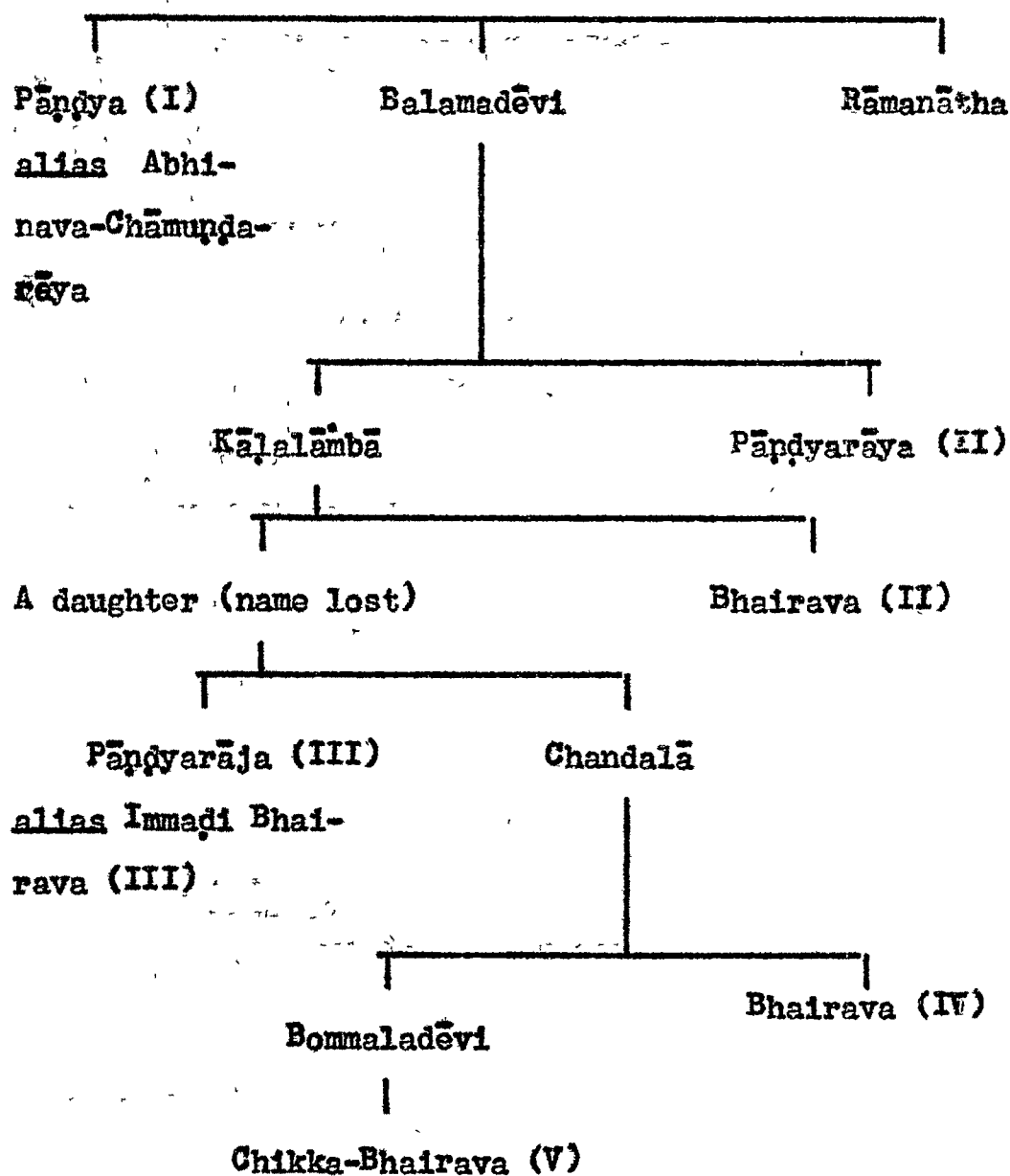
After many kings had reigned

|

Bhairava (I)

199 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 529.

200 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Introduction p. 19.



A few inscriptions, belonging to the last six decades of the 13th century and referring themselves to the reigns of the rulers of the Kalasa kingdom have been found in the Chikmagalur District, Mysore State.²⁰¹ However, these rulers do not appear to have had any hold on Karkala. Also, from the

201 *Ibid.*, Mg. 65-75; cm. 35-36, 106.

the fact that the Varāṅga inscription, after mentioning three of the earliest members of this family, directly passes on to Bhairava I, it may be concluded that he was the first ruler of Kalasa to establish his family's seat of power at Karkala. The Varāṅga inscription ^{states} ~~informs us~~ that Bhairava I built the Nēmisvara-chaitya at Kārakala.

The earliest dated inscription ²⁰² of Kalasa-Karkala family is to be found in a rice-field at Marpe, near the hamlet of Koraga, Karkala Taluk. It is dated Śaka 1331, Sarvadhāri, Pushya su. 10, Thursday = A.D. 1408, December 28, Friday (and not Thursday). It refers itself to the joint reign of Vīra-Bhairava and his son Pāṇḍya. These two may be easily identified with Bhairava I and his successor Pāṇḍya I alias Abhinava-Chāmuṇḍarāya. This identification is rendered possible by the fact that the installation of the Gummāṭa image at Karkala, which is attributed in the Varāṅga inscription to Pāṇḍya I, took place, as will be seen below in A.D. 1432. The inscription states that the two chieftains were ruling from the great capital city (mahārājadhāni) of Keravase. Keravase is a village in Karkala Taluk. It is obvious from this that Bhairava I had extended his sway into the Kārakala region sometime in the beginning of the 15th century. The assertion made elsewhere ²⁰³ that this

202 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 530.

203 Ep.Ind., Vol. VII, p. 127, Note 1.

family established its sway over the Kāṛakaḷa region only in A.D. 1516-17, is, therefore, wrong.

204

An inscription from Kaḷasa, Mudgere Taluk, Chikmagalur District, is dated Śaka 1341 Vikāri, Āsvayuja ba. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1419, October 5, and refers to Bhairva I as Bhairarasa-Oḍeya of Kāṛakaḷa and as the feudatory of Dēvarāya I. One Bīraṇṇa-adhikāri is mentioned as an officer of his household.

The earliest reference, apart from the Kāṛakaḷa inscription of A.D. 1408, ^{to} Bhairava I's successor Pāṇḍya I ²⁰⁵ alias Abhinava-Chāmūṇḍarāya, occurs in an inscription on the right side of the Gummāṭa statue at Kāṛakaḷa dated in Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Phālguna su. 12, Monday = A.D. 1432, February 13, Wednesday (and not Monday). It records that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, son of Bhairava and belonging to the lunar race (Sōm-āṇvaya), caused to be made the image of Bāhubalin (i.e. the Gummāṭa colossus at Kāṛakaḷa) on the advice of his preceptor, Lalitakīrtti.

206

Another inscription, on a pillar in front of the Gummāṭa statue, is dated in Śaka 1358, Rākshasa, Phālguna su. 12 probably = A.D. 1436, February 29, Wednesday, and records that

204 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 47.

205 Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 109-10.

2 | 106 Ibid., p. 111.

the pillar with the image of Brahman was set up by Vīra-Pāṇḍya, son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta. It is obvious that Pāṇḍya I, the maker of the Jaina colossus at Kāraḱaḱa, assumed the second name of Abhinava-Chāmuṇḍarāya after the Gāṅga minister Chāmuṇḍarāya who, in the tenth century, caused to be made the famous Gummāṭa statue at Śrāvapa-Belgoḱa in the Hassan District of Mysore State.²⁰⁷

While these two Kāraḱaḱa inscriptions do not mention any suzerain, an inscription²⁰⁸ of Pāṇḍya I, from Kaḱasa (Mudgere Taluk, Chikmagalur District), dated in Śaka 1362, Raudri, Vaisākha = A.D. 1440, April-May, which gives his name as Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva and refers to his rule over Kaḱasa-rājya, shows that he was the feudatory of Vijayanagara Dēvarāya II. In the light of the above dates the Keravase inscription of A.D. 1449, discussed above, is to be assigned to the reign of Pāṇḍya I.

An inscription²⁰⁹ from Kāraḱaḱa, dated Śaka 1379, Śvara, Kārttika sū. 1, Wednesday = A.D. 1457, October 19, refers itself to the reign of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravar-Śaḱṣvara Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḱeya. In view of the prefix Abhinava and, also, in view of the fact that the reigns of four chieftains of the family have to be accommodated within the eighty and odd years between A.D. 1440, the date of the Kaḱasa ins-

207 vide Ibid., pp. 108 ff.

208 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 47.

209 SII., Vol. VII, No. 246.

cription of Pāṇḍya I and A.D. 1523, the date of the Varāṅga inscription of Chikka-Bhairava V, Pāṇḍya of the Kārkala inscription of A.D. 1457 may be identified with Pāṇḍya II, the nephew, and successor of Pāṇḍya I. The Varāṅga inscription records that Pāṇḍya II caused to be erected a sky-high māna-stambha in front of the Nēmiśvarabasti at Kārkala.

We may here refer to an inscription²¹⁰ from Keravase which is wrongly dated Śaka 1083, Viśu, Āsvayuja śu. 1, Thursday. Palaeographically, the record belongs to the 15th century. If the intended Śaka year was 1383, the given details would work out to A.D. 1461, September 5, Saturday (and not Thursday). The inscription is an interesting document, recording an agreement of peace between Kāmirāya-arasa, the Baṅga chieftain, and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa alias Pāṇḍyapparasa, ruling from Keravase. The above dating of the record is further supported²¹¹ by an inscription from Indabettū which refers to Kāmirāya-arasa in A.D. 1473. The Keravase inscription records that Pāṇḍyadēvarasa and Kāmirāya-arasa agreed to suspend thenceforward all acts of hostility against each other; that when one was to be attacked by an outsider, the other will rush to the help of the defender; and that none of the two shall unilaterally

210 ARIE., 1961-62, App. B, No. 627.

211 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 478.

enter into any pact with the Chautas. Since this record is not far removed in date from the Karkala inscription of A.D. 1457, discussed above, Pāṇḍyadevarasa of Keravase may be identified with Pāṇḍya II.

No inscription assignable to the reign of Pāṇḍya II's successor Bhairava II has come down to us. The Varāṅga inscription eulogises Bhairava II as interested in music (saṅgita) and literature (sāhitya). His successor was Pāṇḍya-²¹²rāya III. An inscription from Bantakallu, Udipi Taluk, which is dated only in the cyclic year Sōbhakṛit and which, palaeographically, belongs to the 15th century may be referred to A.D. 1483-84. It records an agreement entered into between Kundaheggade and Kinnika-heggade on the one side and Pāṇḍyappaḍeya on the other. We have shown above that Bhairava IV was on the Kaḷasa-Kārakala throne in A.D. 1493. Pāṇḍyappaḍeya of the Bantakallu record of A.D. 1483 may, therefore, be identified with Pāṇḍyarāja III, the uncle and predecessor of Bhairava IV.

The next dated reference for a ruler of this family occurs in two inscriptions²¹³ from Kaḷasa which are dated Śaka 1414, Paridhāvi, Māgha su. 10, Sunday = A.D. 1493, January 27. These records refer themselves to the rule of Vīra-Bhairarasa-

²¹² Ibid., 1930-31, No. 370

²¹³ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 50 and 54.

Oḍeya over Kaḷasa-rājya during the reign of Sāḷuva Immaḍi-Narasimha. This Bhairarasa-Oḍeya may be identified with Bhairava IV of the genealogical tree on the strength of another inscription²¹⁴ from Kaḷasa itself which is dated Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Śrāvapa su. 15, Sunday = A.D. 1516, July 13 and which says that Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, the then ruling chief of Kaḷasa-Kāra-kaḷa-rājya, was the nephew of Hiriya-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya and son of Bommalaḍēvi.

While the earliest available date for Bhairava IV falls in A.D. 1493, the latest date for him is to be found in an inscription²¹⁵ from Kaḷasa, dated in Śaka 1429, Burmati, Bhādrapada ba. 10, Tuesday = A.D. 1501, September 7. This record mentions one Balamāḍēvi as the younger sister (tāṅgi) of the ruler. Bommalaḍēvi, of whom his successor Bhairava V was born according to the Varāṅga inscription was, obviously, Bhairava IV's elder sister.

The further history of this family including the reign of Bhairava V will be discussed as and when their inscriptions make their appearance.

Next in date among inscriptions of local rulers which make no reference to Vijayanagara authority is a record²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Ibid., Mg. 41.

²¹⁵ Ibid., Mg. 48.

²¹⁶ SII., Vol. VII, No. 203.

from Mūdabidure dated in Śaka 1384, Vishu, Pushya, 'su. 1, Wednesday, Mūla-nakshatra = A.D. 1461, December 2 (the tithi, however, was Mārgasīrsha ba. 15 and not Pushya 'su. 1). It refers itself to the reign of Hīriya-Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya of Nagire and records grants by the king, who had fallen seriously ill, for the worship of the deities Chandranātha, Supārasva-tīrthan-kara and Chandraprabha-tīrthakara with the permission of his brothers Bhairarasa and Ambirāyarasa. We have shown above that the principality of Nagire consisted of portions of the North and South Kanara Districts and that it was considered to be a part of Tulu-rājya. The presence at Mūdabidure of inscriptions of the Nagire family does not mean that they ruled over that region which was far to the south of their own territory. Mūdabidure, being a great centre of Jainism, must have been a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Nagire rulers who themselves professed that religion.

For the religious and cultural history of South Kanara, the Nagire rulers are as important as the Kaḷasa-Kāraḷa rulers. Two other inscriptions from Mūdabidure, one dated in Śaka 1351, Saumya, Māgha 'su. 5, Thursday = A.D. 1430, January 29, Sunday (and not Thursday) and the other undated furnish a detailed genealogical account of the Nagire family.²¹⁷ The genealogy as given in these records, of which the former²¹⁸ refers itself to the reign of Dēvarāya II and the latter

²¹⁷ Ibid., No. 202.

²¹⁸ Ibid., No. 207.

makes no reference to Vijayanagara authority, is given here-
under. The names given within the brackets are those found in
the undated inscription:-

(Sāluva Nārāṇa)

(Sāluva Nāgaṇa)

After many rulers had reigned

Honma

Kāma

Māṅga I (Māvarasa)

Haiva

Māṅga II (Saptamahīpāla)

Kēsavarāja (Kēsavarāya)

Lakshmiṃmatī (Married to Tāyapparasa of
Tiluvallī)

Sangama

Bhairava (I)

Chikka-Bhairava (II)

Tipparasa

Ambitrāya Kēsa-
(Yunara- va-
ja Ambī- dēvi
rayarasa

Sir Ivan
Fah

Among the children of Lakshmiṃati, the undated inscription mentions only Bhairava and Ambirāyarasa, the former as Saṅgama's successor and the latter as Yuvarāja under Bhairava. It then says that in that family was born Sāluva-Malla. The nature of Sāluva Malla's relationship to Bhairava and Ambirāyarasa is not revealed in this record.

It is obvious from the above genealogical table that the Nagire family claimed to be of Sāluva extraction. It is well known that for a short period, between A.D. 1486 and 1506, the Sāluvas came to occupy the imperial throne at Vijayanagara. It is not, however, possible to say, at the present state of our knowledge, if the imperial Sāluva family was in any way related to the Sāluva house of Nagire.

No inscriptions referring to the reign of Sāluva Nārāṇa, Sāluva Nagapa, Honna, Kāma and Maṅga I have come down to us. As for Maṅga I's successor Haiva, he is the same as the father of Saṅgirāya or Saṅgama who, by virtue of the aliya-santāna system of succession in vogue in the Nagire and Hāduvallī ruling houses, succeeded to the Hāduvallī throne. The Kaikiṇi inscription of A.D. 1415 A.D., which contains this information regarding Haiva and Saṅgirāya, has been discussed above.

The earliest date^d reference to Haiva is met with in two inscriptions²¹⁹ from Kaikiṇi, both of them dated in the cyclic

year Bahudhānya (= Śaka 1320), Pushya śu. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1398 December 10, Tuesday (and not Thursday) and both of them referring themselves to the reign of Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404). We have already pointed out above that these inscriptions record an invasion of the Tulu country by the imperial general Maṅga-dappāyaka, aided by the forces of Haivarasa of Nagire.

The nephew of Haivarasa, whose name was Maṅga (II) alias Saptamahīpāla has not left behind any inscriptions. There are reasons to conclude from available inscriptions that he may not have ruled. For, as early as in A.D. 1422 we hear of Kēsavadēva-Oḍeya, who calls himself the grandson of Haivarasa but who in reality was the nephew of Maṅgarasa who was himself the nephew of Haivarasa, marching his forces against Saṅgirāya of Hāḍuvalḷi.²²⁰ This, coupled with the facts that this record makes no mention of Kēsavadēva-Oḍeya's uncle Maṅgarasa II and that Saṅgirāya's name alone is associated with both Hāḍuvalḷi and Nagire till A.D. 1422 leads to the belief that when Haivarasa ended his reign over Nagire-rājya, he was succeeded by Saṅgirāya who, by virtue of the aliya-santāna system of succession, also became ruler of Hāḍuvalḷi-rājya. The circumstances which brought about the succession of Saṅgirāya to his father Haivarasa on the Nagire throne, thus creating a breach with the prevalent aliya-santāna system, are not known to us. It may be that Haivarasa's aliya Maṅga II had predeceased him and that the latter's nephew, Kēsavadēva, at

the time when Haivarasa had ended his reign, was only a minor thus enabling Saṅgirāya to secure the throne at Nagire.

At any rate, Kēsavadēva appears to have asserted his claims by A.D. 1422. He got hold of the Nagire throne, which was his due, and this started a period of incessant struggle between the rulers of the Hāḍuvallī and Nagire rājyas. Three inscriptions from Kaikini and one from Hāḍuvallī belonging to²²¹ A.D. 1422-23, refer to the invasions of the Hāḍuvallī-rājya of Saṅgirāya by Kēsavadēva-Oḍeya of Nagire. On the other hand, an inscription²²² of A.D. 1417 from Kaikini itself refers to Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya as the ruler of Nagire. It is thus clear that Kēsavadēva was preceded on the Nagire throne, not by his uncle Maṅga I as required by the aliya-santāna system, but by Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. Kēsavadēva was succeeded by his nephew Saṅgama who²²³ is mentioned, as early as in A.D. 1423, in an inscription from Hāḍuvallī, as aliya Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and as having jointly led an invasion into Hāḍuvallī-rājya along with his uncle Kēsavadēva. We have no dated references to the reign of Kēsavadēva²²⁴ after A.D. 1425. The earliest date for his nephew and successor, Saṅgama or Saṅgirāya, is found in an interesting inscription²²⁵ from Kaikini, dated in Śaka 1349, Plavaṅga, Vaisākha

221 Ibid., Nos. 42, 44, 45 and 46.

222 Ibid., No. 41.

223 Ibid., No. 46.

224 Ibid., No. 47.

225 Ibid., No. 48.

su. 5, Thursday = A.D. 1427, May 1. This inscription refers itself to the reign of Dēvarāya I and states that Mahāpradhāna Timmappa-Oḍeya was governing, from his headquarters at Honnāūra, the Haiva, Tulu and Koṅkana rājyas. It is then stated that a serious breach having occurred between the governor and one Ummara-marakāla, who was the chief of the hañjamāna of Honnāvāra, the latter, along with his supporters, retired to Kāsarakōḍu (a village in the North Kanara District) and appealed to Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, the chief of Nagire, to use his good offices and bring about the cessation of hostilities against him by Timmappa-Oḍeya. On receiving this appeal, Saṅgirāya despatched one Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka, along with a thousand soldiers, to offer protection to Ummara-marakāla and his followers. The inscription tells us that, at this stage, Timmappa-Oḍeya treacherously (mōsadin) laid siege to Kāsarkōḍu and started harassing the womenfolk of Ummara-marakāla's camp. Rising ~~the~~ to the occasion, Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka transported all the members of the hañjamāna, including Ummara-marakāla and the women-folk, with the help of boats to a place of safety. In the battle which ensued on this account with the forces of Timmappa-Oḍeya, Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka fought valiantly but was killed. From the above, it may be concluded that the Nagire Chiefs were powerful enough to question the acts of imperial officers.

The next available record of Saṅgirāya of Nagire is
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equally important. This inscription, also from Kaikipi, is

dated Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Chaitra su. 5, Wednesday. These details of date are irregular. But, for Śaka 1352, Sādhārana, the given details regularly correspond, to A.D. 1430, March 29. After referring itself to the reign of Dēvarāya II and to the administration of Mahāpradhāna Lakhanna-Oḍeya over Monnāvura-rājya, the inscription states that Bhayiravadēva-Oḍeya of Asakaḷi deserted the camp of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of Nagire and shifted his allegiance to Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of Hāḍuvaḷḷi. The inscription then records the death of a hero in the battle which ensued between Saṅgirāya of Nagire on one side and Saṅgirāya of Hāḍuvaḷḷi and his ally Bhayiravadēva-Oḍeya of Asakaḷi on the other. For reasons not stated in the record, Saṅgirāya of Nagire and Lakhanna-Oḍeya, the imperial governor, now joined hands and invaded Hāḍuvaḷḷiya-rājya. The death of another hero in the battle which resulted is also recorded in the inscription.

While the Kaikini inscription of March, A.D. 1430, discussed above, provides us with the latest known date for Saṅgirāya of Nagire, the earliest date for his nephew and successor, Bhairavadēva Oḍeya is met with in the Mūḍabidure inscription of January, A.D. 1430, which, as has been shown above, contains a genealogical account of his family. The dates of these two inscriptions suggest that Bhairavadēva was actively associated with the administration of the Nagire territory even during his uncle's lifetime.

The Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1461, discussed earlier, belongs to the last days of Bhairavadēva's rule. This inscription refers to the serious nature of the ruler's illness

and records some grants made by him with the consent of his brothers Bhairarasa and Ambirāyarasa.

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An inscription from Kaikipi, belonging to the reign of Virupāksha and dated in Śaka 1384, Tārāpa (wrong for Chitrabhānu) = A.D. 1462-63, refers to the rule over Nagire-rājya of Immaḍi-Bhairavēśvara. This Immaḍi-Bhairavēśvara was the successor of Bhairavadēva and is no doubt identical with the Chikka-Bhairava of the Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1430 and the Bhairarasa of the Mūḍabidure record of A.D. 1461. Here we have an interesting instance of a younger nephew succeeding to the throne on the death of the elder nephew of an uncle.

The undated Mūḍabidure inscription, referred to above, states that Bhairava II appointed his younger brother Ambirāyarasa as Yuvarāja.

The person who actually succeeded Immaḍi-Bhairava on the Nagire throne was Mallirāya-Oḍeya. This may be understood from the undated Mūḍabidure inscription of Mallirāya himself which refers to Ambirāya as Yuvarāja. The relationship of Mallirāya to Bhairava II is not known. The undated Mūḍabidure inscription merely states that Mallirāya hailed from the same family of Bhairava II and his brother ~~son~~ Yuvarāja Ambirāya.

The earliest dated reference to Mallirāya occurs in his inscription 228 from Kaikipi dated Śaka 1394, Khara, Āsvayuja

227 Ibid., No. 60.

228 Ibid., No. 61.

su. 5, Friday = A.D. 1471, September 19, Thursday (and not Friday). This inscription refers to him as the younger brother (tammandiru) of Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya. The latter is, no doubt, the same as Bhairava II. Mallirāya may, therefore, have been another name for Tipparasa who, according to the Mūḍabidure record of A.D. 1430 was the younger brother of Bhairava II and elder brother of Ambirāya.

The inscription records that Bhairava II and his brother Mallirāya fell out with each other and their enmity became aggravated beyond all compromise. Yindaradēva the ruler of Hāḍuvaḷḷi, whose mention in the Baindūru inscription of A.D. 1449 as Indagarasa-Oḍeya has been referred to above, appears to have supported Bhairava II thus inviting upon himself an invasion by the forces of Mallirāya. The inscription records the death of a soldier of Mallirāya in the battle which ensued. From this it may be concluded that Mallirāya won the battle. He also must have secured the Nagire throne as we do not hear any more of Bhairava II. The undated Mūḍabidure inscription showers lofty praise upon Mallirāya and hails him as a great warrior and as a great follower of Jainism. His inscriptions show that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Virūpāksha. He was perhaps assisted by the imperial authority in wresting the throne from his elder brother Bhairava II.

Another inscription ²²⁹ from Kaikipi, dated in the

reign of Virūpāksha and in Śaka 1404, Plava, Chaitra ba. 4, Monday = A.D. 1481, March 19, refers to Mallirāya as Sāluva Mallirājendra but states that his nephew (aḷiya) Dēvarasa-Oḍeya was then ruling over Nagire, Tuḷu and Haive rāiyas. Mallirāya thus appears to have ruled for less than a decade. His aḷiya Dēvarasa must have been the son of either Kēsavadēvi or Siriyamarasi who, as gathered from the Mūdabidure inscription of A.D. 1430, were the sisters of Bhairava II, Tipparasa and Ambirāya. This inscription records that when, under the orders of Sāluva Dēvarasa, Raṇagabhināyaka was administering the Haive-rājya, Nijāmuddin Maluk who was governing Goa under the orders of the Sultān of Bidar, marched his forces to Midije and was there opposed by the armies of Dēvarasa. The record further states that in the battle which ensued Raṇagabhināyaka was imprisoned. The inscription also records the death of some soldiers in their attempt to free the prisoner.

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The next available inscription of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's reign is dated in Śaka 1406 = A.D. 1484-85 and refers to a battle fought between the forces of the Nagire ruler and a Muhammadan army. This inscription also provides us with the last available date for Virūpāksha in this region. The subsequent history of the Nagire family falls into the period of transition at Vijayanagara when the Saṅgama dynasty was replaced by the Sāluva house and will be taken up at the appropriate place.

We may now turn our attention to the history of the Baṅgas. We had stated above that the Baṅgas were a local family

of Jaina chieftains ruling over a principality around Puttūr. Epigraphical references to Pāṇḍyapparasa I (A.D. 1410), Viṭhala-dēvi (A.D. 1417), her son Pāṇḍyapparasa II (A.D. 1431 and 1437) and Basavapparasa (A.D. 1456) who were members of this family, have also been discussed above. The next Baṅga name we meet with in inscriptions is found in a record ²³¹ from Keravase, Kārkāḷa Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1083 (wrong for 1383), Viṣṇu, Āsvayuja su. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1461, September 5, Saturday (and not Thursday) and which has already been referred to while narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkāḷa family. The inscription records a political pact entered into by the Baṅga chief Kāmīrāya-arasa Baṅga and the Kaḷasa-Kārkāḷa ruler Pāṇḍya-dēvarasa (II) against mutual enmity and against the chief of the Chautā principality. We learn from this record that the Baṅga principality was known by the name of Baṅgavāḍi.

The Indabeṭṭu (Puttūr Taluk) inscription of Śaka 1394, Vijaya, Kārttika su. 15 probably = A.D. 1473, November 4, Thursday, which has already been referred to, contains the latest known date for Kāmīrāya-arasa Baṅga. This inscription, which makes no reference to Vijayanagara authority, records a gift of land by the Baṅga chief to one Naṅjappa for providing worship, offerings etc., to god Vīra-Bhadra of Baṅgavāḍi.

The inscriptions from the Karkala Taluk contain information about yet another family of local rulers. The earlier

of these is an inscription ²³² from Nārāvi and bears the date Śaka 1411, Saumya, Mīna 1 probably = 1489, February 25, Wednesday. This inscription records a gift of land to the temple of Sūryanārāyaṇa by Kāmādēvi, the mother of Maṇḍalika ²³³ Sōmanātha Pennapparasa-Oḍeya. The other inscription from Vēṇūr, is dated Śaka 1411, Saumya, Mīna 10 probably = A.D. 1489, March 6, Friday and records a gift of land by the same Kāmādēvi, mother of Mahāmaṇḍalika Sōmanātha-Pennanna-Oḍeya, the ruler of Puñjāliya-rājya, for the feeding of ascetics visiting the Śantinātha-Chaitya. Though these two records give the ruler only feudatory titles, they do not refer to any imperial authority. We have pointed out in chapter IV, while discussing the Vēṇūr inscription of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sēvyagellarasa of A.D. 1118, that Puñjāliya-rājya was the territory around the modern village of Puñjalkaṭṭe near Vēṇūr in the Karkala Taluk. The prominent reference to the ruler's mother Kāmādēvi in both the records suggests that, like the other Jaina families of the region, the ruling house of Puñjāliyarājya also followed the āliya-santāna system of succession.

The greatness of the Saṅgama dynasty of Harihara I and Bukka I lasted for over a century and did not long survive the end of Dēvarya II's reign in A.D. 1446. Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣha II, who succeeded Dēvarāya II and who occupied the Vijayanagara throne for a little less than four decades between

232 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 523.

233 SIL., Vol. VII, No. 257.

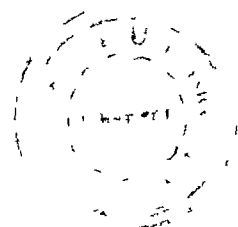
themselves, were both weak and given to vices. The loyalty and the obedient support of the numerous chiefs and the citizens of the vast empire which the earlier rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty had commanded was no more available. The empire was very near extinction.

The way in which Virūpāksha II's reign ended offers a fitting illustration to the decay which had set in in the Saṅgama dynasty. He was murdered by his own son in A.D. 1485. The otherwise virtuous parricide declined the throne rendered vacant by his own act. His younger brother 'Padearao', who got the throne, had the parricide executed and then gave himself up to wine and women, and became utterly indifferent to the fate of the kingdom.²³⁴ This Padearao may be safely identified with Pratāparāja to whose reign an inscription²³⁵ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1409, Plavaṅga, Kārttika śu. 5, Sunday = A.D. 1487, October 21, belongs.

The sorry state of affairs which came to stay at Vijayanagara lifted the veil of the empire's power and greatness. Feudatory chieftains, especially rulers of principalities which were along the borders of the empire found their opportunity and declared independence. The many minor principalities in South and North Kanara districts were quick to utilise this change.

234 Vide Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol. I, pp. 139.

235 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.



The latest date for Virūpāksha II's reign in the southern parts of the South Kanara district i.e. in the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya is found in an inscription ²³⁶ from Mūdabidure, bearing the date Śaka 1398, Durmākhī, Māgha su. 10, Friday = A.D. 1477, January 24. The next date when we meet with an epigraphical evidence ²³⁷ for the inclusion of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya within the empire is only in A.D. 1512 when Kṛishṇadēvarāya the great was the emperor. Bārakūru-rājya, on the other hand, continued to form a part of the empire until at least A.D. 1487 as is proved by the Basarūru inscription referred to above. The explanation for this paradox lies in the fact that while portions of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya were under powerful chieftains such as those of Kaḷasa-Kārkala and Baṅgavāḍī, the Bārakūru-rājya had no such powerful ruling houses. The northern portions of the latter rājya, which were included in the Nagire and Hāḍuvaḷḷī rājyas, must have, however, attained independence when the Nagire and Hāḍuvaḷḷī chiefs had themselves deserted the imperial cause.

While the latest dated inscription of an emperor belonging to the Saṅgama dynasty and found in South Kanara belongs to A.D. 1487, the earliest inscription ²³⁸ for a ruler of the Sāḷuva dynasty which replaced the former belongs to A.D. 1490. Both these inscriptions hail from villages which were situated in the Bārakūru-rājya. It is thus obvious that while

236 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 209.

237 *Ibid.*, No. 228.

238 *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 269.

the southern half and the northern extremes retained their independence for a longer period, the central part of South Kanara was re-annexed into the empire within three years.

We may now turn our attention to the dynastic changes at Vijayanagara and their effects on the Tulu country. Pratāparāya (Padeearao) who benefitted from his brother's crime and subsequent renunciation proved himself unworthy of the crown. Sewell aptly observes that in Padeearao "the nation merely found repeated the crimes and follies of his ^aded sire. Disgusted with this line of sovereigns, the nobles rose, deposed their king, and placed on the throne one of their own number, Narasimha."²³⁹

Narasimha claimed to be of Sāluva extraction and thus he established the second or Sāluva dynasty of Vijayanagra. Before being raised to the throne, he was governing, as a nominal feudatory of Virūpāksha II, the whole of the east coast to the south of the Kṛishṇā. Being then the most powerful chief in the empire, he was naturally the inevitable choice of the disgruntled nobles. Eventually, however, instead of earning their support and loyalty, Sāluva Narasimha became the object of envy²⁴⁰ for the very nobles who had helped him usurp the throne. Notwithstanding this, the new emperor went about the task of enforcing

239 A Forgotten Empire, p. 108.

240 A History of South India - (II edn.), pp.263-64.

imperial authority over those regions which had tended to exploit the weakness of the central power for their own aggrandisement.

The usurpation of the imperial throne by Sāluva Narasimha must have taken place sometime after the date of Pratāparāya's Basarūru inscription, i.e., October 21, A.D. 1487.

The loss of the Tulu country for the empire too must have occurred after this date. An inscription ²⁴¹ from Hosāla, Udipi Taluk, gives us the next earliest date for the reestablishment of Vijayanagara authority over South Kanara. Dated in Śaka 1412 (expired) 1413 (current), Sādhārana, Kārttika su. 1 probably = A.D. 1490, October 14, Thursday, the inscription refers itself to the reign of Sāluva Narasiṅgarāya-mahārāya and mentions Haṁparasa-Ōḍeya as the then governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

There is no direct reference in inscriptions either to the loss or to the subsequent reconquest of the Tulu country. However, the absence of Vijayanagara inscriptions in the region of the Maṅgalūru-rājya from A.D. 1477 to 1512 and in the region of the Bārakūru-rājya from A.D. 1487 to 1490, as also the independent nature of the inscriptions of many of the local chieftains during the troubled reign of Virūpāksha II, do support the statement made elsewhere ²⁴² that the West coast was lost to the Vijayanagara empire towards the end of the fifteenth cen-

241 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 269.

242 A History of South India (II edn.), p. 264.

ture. The attempts made by Sāluva Narasimha to recover the lost coastal territory are nowhere alluded to. The presence of his inscription of A.D. 1490 at Hosāla, however, proves that he did make the attempt and that he met with some success in this task.

That Sāluva Narasimha did not succeed in recovering the whole of the Tulu country is evidenced by known epigraphical records. Thus, as has been stated above, the Mangalūru region has not brought to light any of his inscriptions. Again, Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, who, as we have shown above, succeeded Mallirāya²⁴³ as the ruler of Nagire, receives in an inscription from Kaikini, dated in Śaka 1416, Ānanda, Kārttika su. 5 probably = A.D. 1494, November 3, Monday, sovereign titles such as Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara.

Sāluva Narasimha did not rule for long and died in A.D. 1491, leaving the task of restoring the empire to its former size to his successors. His immediate successor was his eldest son Tirumala or Timma who, soon after his coronation, was murdered in a palace intrigue. Sāluva Narasimha's younger son Tammarāya alias Immadi Narasimha next ascended the throne. The earliest inscription²⁴⁴ belonging to his reign and discovered in South Kanara is from Handādi, Udipi Taluk, and bears the date Śaka 1414 (expired), Paridhāvi, Vaisākha su. 15, Friday = A.D. 1492, May 11. It refers to Honnakalāsṛāya-mahārāya, son of

243 Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 67.

244 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 598.

Triyambakarāya, as the governor of Barakūru-rājya.

The dynasty which Sāluva Narasimha inaugurated in A.D. 1487, in order to save the empire from utter ruin, ended in tragedy within 20 years after its birth when Immaḍi Narasimha was murdered in A.D. 1505. His latest inscription²⁴⁵ in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1424 (expired) 1425 (current), Durmatī, Māgha 'su. 6, Rēvati = A.D. 1502, January 14. His inscriptions, so far discovered, come only from the region of the Bārakūru-rājya. This clearly shows that, as in the reign of Sāluva Narasimha, parts of the Tulu country continued to remain outside the pale of imperial authority.

The murder of Immaḍi Narasimha meant the end of the Sāluva dynasty. Its place was taken by a line of rulers which has come to be popularly known as the Tuluva dynasty. Before discussing the history of this dynasty, we may study the developments which took place in South Kanara during the brief Sāluva rule at Vijayanagara.

The names and dates of the governors who administered Bārakūru-rājya during this period are as follows:

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Hamparasa-Oḍeya	October 14, A.D. 246 1490	. . .
Honnakaḷasrāya- mahārāya	May 1, A.D. 247 1492	January 6, A.D. 248 1494
Sādhārapadēva- Oḍeya	July 3, A.D. 249 1498	July 9, A.D. 250 1499
Basavarasa- Oḍeya	October 11, A.D. 251 1499	October 1, A.D. 252 1502

While two inscriptions, one from Handāḍi²⁵³ and other from Hosāḷa²⁵⁴ 2 in the Udipi Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1492 and January, A.D. 1494 respectively refer to Honnakaḷasrāya-mahārāya as ruling over Bārakūru-rājya under the emperor Immaḍi

246 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 269.

247 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 598.

248 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 270.

249 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 511.

250 SII., Vol. VII, No. 364.

251 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 364.

252 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 593.

253 Ibid., No. 598.

254 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 270.



Narasimha alias Tammarāya, an inscription ²⁵⁵ from Koṭēsvara, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1415, Paridhāvi, Āsvija ba. 30, Solar eclipse - A.D. 1492, October 21, Sunday ascribed to him the imperial titles Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara and Virapratāpa. This record makes no reference to the emperor of Vijayanagara. In view of the fact that at a subsequent date he is merely referred to as a governor, the ascription of sovereign titles to him in the Koṭēsvara record may only mean that Honnakajasarāya-mahārāya was an important member of the imperial Śāluva family and that, as such, he was not barred from assuming these titles. The Hosāla inscription of A.D. 1494 says that he was appointed governor by Gavurappa-danpāyaka.

An inscription ²⁵⁶ ~~255~~ from Gīḷiyara, Udipi Taluk, of the reign of Śāluva Immadi Narasimha, dated Śaka 1420 (expired) 1421 (current), Kālyukta, Āshāḍha su. 15, Tuesday = A.D. 1498, July 3 records a gift of land by Sādhārapadēva-Ōḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, to one Narasaṇṇa of the Valsishṭha gōtra for the merit of Mahāpradhāna Narasaṇṇa-nāyaka-Ōḍeya. The Gīḷiyara inscription thus provides us with the earliest reference in any inscription from South Kanara to Narasa-nāyaka of the Tuluva dynasty, who was the mainstay of the Vijayanagara empire from A.D. 1491, and whose sons occupied the imperial throne for nearly four decades after the end of the Śāluva dynasty. Narasa-nāyaka died in A.D. 1503, during the reign of Immadi Narasimha. Śaka 1425, Dundubhi, Āsvija ba. 30, Monday,

255 Ibid., 1927, No. 386.

256 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 511.

Solar eclipse = A.D. 1502, October 1, Saturday (and not Monday), which is the date of an inscription²⁵⁷ from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is the latest dated reference to Narasapa-nāyaka in inscriptions from South Kanara.

Two inscriptions, both dated Śaka 1421 (expired) 1422 (current), Siddhārthi, Dhanus, 29, Friday = A.D. 1499, December 27, one of which is from Kāp²⁵⁸ and the other from Yellūru,²⁵⁹ both in the Udipi Taluk, record an agreement of peace between local chieftains without at the same time making any reference to the authority of Vijayanagara. The inscriptions record that Śaṅkarāḍi alias Kunda-heggaḍe and his followers and Tirumale-arasa alias Mada-heggaḍe agreed to suspend hostilities between Yellūru and Kap, to support one another in case of attacks from outside and to resort only to peaceful means of settling all the differences which may arise in their midst thenceforward. Reference has been made above to an inscription from Udipi, belonging to A.D. 1476, which mentions Dēvarāḍi alias Kunda-heggaḍe and Duggana-sēbita alias Mada-heggaḍe. Śaṅkarāḍi and Tirumale-arasa were, thus, the successors respectively of Dēvarāḍi and Duggana-sēbita in the Kunda-heggaḍe and Mada-heggaḍe families. While the Udipi inscription refers itself to the governorship of Viṭharasa-Ḡḍeya over the Bārakūru-rājya, the Kāp and Yellūru inscriptions are silent about imperial authority. This may mean either that

257 Ibid., 1939-30, No. 593

258 SII., Vol. VII, No. 273

259 ARSIE., 1927-28, No. 392.

local rulers were left to themselves in dealing with one another or that imperial hold at this time even over part of the Tulu country was not complete.

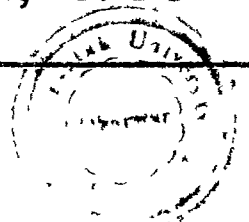
As was stated above, in the year A.D. 1505 Immadi Narasimha was assassinated and the sway of the Sāluva dynasty over the empire was thus suddenly terminated. The throne fell to the lot of the regent Vīra²⁶⁰ Narasimha who had succeeded his illustrious father Narasa Nāyaka in that capacity when the latter died in A.D. 1503. The family of Narasa-nāyaka and his descendants has come to be known as the Tuluva dynasty. No tangible evidence has so far been discovered which helps to connect this dynastic name with the Tuluva territory.

Vīra Narasimha is generally taken to have reigned from A.D. 1505 to 1509. His earliest inscription²⁶⁰ in South Kanara comes from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk and is dated Śaka 1427 (expired) 1428 current, Prabhava, Kārttika su. 15, Saturday = A.D. 1506, October 31. It records a gift of land to the god Tirumala-dēva of Basarūru by Basavarasa-Oḍeya, for the merit of the king. Basavarasa-Oḍeya was governor of Bārakūru-rājya as early as in A.D. 1499 and appears to have continued in that office inspite of the dynastic changes at Vijayanagara.

Another inscription²⁶¹ of Tuluva Vīra Narasimha, from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, is dated Śaka 1429 (expired) 1430 (current), Vibhava, Kārttika su. 1, probably = A.D. 1508, October

260 SIL, Vol. IX, part II, No. 476.

261 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 541.



25, Wednesday, and refers to Keṇḍada Basavarasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. It records the endowment of a land by one Dugana-seṭṭi for feeding daily six brāhmanas in a matha built by him at Baindūru during the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Yindagarasa-Oḍeya, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, over the Hāḍuvaḷi-rājya. It has been shown above that Yindagarasa-Oḍeya was actually the nephew (aliya) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and that his reign had commenced as early as in A.D. 1449. Thus, on the date of the Baindūru inscription under study, Indagarasa had been ruler of Hāḍuvaḷi-rājya for sixty years. The present record shows that by A.D. 1508, the rulers of Hāḍuvaḷi-rājya had once again become the subordinates of the Vijayanagara emperors.

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A third inscription of the same ruler, from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Śukla, Chaitra śu. 1, Wednesday = A.D. 1509, March 21, refers to Sōvappa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

Vira Narasimha is generally taken to have ended his reign in A.D. 1509. However, two inscriptions from South Kanara, referring themselves to his reign, belong to A.D. 1510. The earlier of these, from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, is dated Śaka 1432 (expired) 1433 (current), Śukla

263

262 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 271.

263 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 479.

Māgha 'su. 5 = A.D. 1510, January 14, Monday, and refers to Mallapa-nāyaka, brother of Sōvapaṇāyaka, as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. The other inscription ²⁶⁴ is also from Basarūru and bears the date Pramōdūta, Vaiśākha 'su. 1 probably = A.D. 1510, April 9, Tuesday. This record also mentions Mallapa-nāyaka as the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya. At the same time, it is also known that Vīra Narasimha's successor was on the throne at least from July, 1509. They perhaps ruled in joint capacity towards the end of the former's reign. In the wake of the Basarūru inscriptions, the story ²⁶⁵ that Vīra Narasimha had tried to disable Kṛishṇadēvarāya, his half-brother, from securing the throne deserves to be viewed with greater suspicion.

As in the preceding reigns, Maṅgalūru-rājya continued to maintain its independence as is proved by the absence of Vijayanagara records in this region. This fact is further supported by an inscription ²⁶⁶ from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, dated in Śaka 1429, Prabhava, Phālguna ba.5, Monday = A.D. 1508, February 21, which refers to a local chieftain without, at the same time, referring to the authority of Vijayanagara. This much damaged inscription refers to the rule of Tirumalerāya-Chauṭa and seems to record some grant made by him to the goddess Poḷaladēvi. The family of the Chau-

264 Ibid., No. 471. In the published text, the Śaka year has been wrongly read as 1403 (expired) and 1404 (current).

265 A History of South India, p. 267

266 ARSIE., 1927-28, No. 372.

tas has been referred to above.

Given below is the list of officers who governed over the Bārakūru-rājya during the reign of Tuluva Vīra Narasimha.

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
<u>Kendada</u> Basa- varasa-Oḍeya	October 31, A.D. 267 1506	October 25, A.D. 268 1508
Sōvappa-Oḍeya	March 21, A.D. 269 1509	. . .
Mallapanāyaka	January 14, A.D. 270 1510	April 9, A.D. 271 1510

Vīra Narasimha was succeeded on the throne at Vijayanagara by his half-brother Kṛishṇadēvarāya. His memorable reign "was the period of Vijayanagar's greatest successes,

267 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 476.

268 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 541.

269 Ibid., 1931-32, No. 271.

270 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 479.

271 Ibid., No. 471.

when its armies were everywhere victorious, and the city was most prosperous." ²⁷² All Southern India came under Kṛishṇadēvarāya's sway and it is needless to say that, unlike in the preceding reigns, the whole of the Tulu country was once again brought under the effective control of Vijayanagara authority. As a matter of fact, the earliest available inscriptions of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's reign in South Kanara come from the Maṅgaluru region. With these records, one of which comes from Sīmantūru ²⁷³ in the Mangalore Taluk and the other from Puttige ²⁷⁴ in the Karkala Taluk, and both of which are dated Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa, Jyēshṭha ba. 2, Tuesday = A.D. 1512, June 1, Vijayanagara inscriptions make their reappearance in the Maṅgalūru region after a lapse of about 35 years. It is not known when and how exactly Kṛishṇadēvarāya reestablished imperial authority over the Tulu country. The two inscriptions of A.D. 1512 show that the task had been accomplished soon enough after his accession.

The names of the governors who served during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in the Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru rājyas and their known dates are given below:

Bārakūru-rājya

272 A Forgotten Empire, p. 119.

273 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 340.

274 SII., Vol. VII, No. 228.

-:322:-

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Ratnappa-Odeya	June 1, A.D. 1512 ²⁷⁵	. . .
Vijayappa-Odeya	December 9, A.D. 1514 ²⁷⁶	. . .
Ratnappa-Odeya	December 28, A.D. 1514 ²⁷⁷	January 28, A.D. 1519 ²⁷⁸
Vijayappa-Odeya	May 14, A.D. 1519 ²⁷⁹	April 1, A.D. 1520 ²⁸⁰
Vitharasa-Odeya	August 26, A.D. 1523 ²⁸¹	A.D. 1525-26 ²⁸²
Yatiraya-Odeya	February 12, A.D. 1526 ²⁸³	March 26, A.D. 1526 ²⁸⁴

275 Ibid.

276 ARSIE., 1961-62, App. B, No. 623.

277 SII., Vol. VII, No. 295.

278 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 501.

279 Ibid., No. 503.

280 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 512.

281 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 255.

282 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 571.

283 Ibid., No. 520.

284 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 355.

-:323:-

Vitharasa-	October 17,	. . .
Odeya	²⁸⁵ A.D. 1526	
Vijeyappa-	May 28, A.D.	. . .
Odeya	²⁸⁶ 1528	
Aliya-Tim-	October 14, A.D.	. . .
mappa-Odeya	²⁸⁷ 1528	

Maṅgalūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Ratnappa-Odeya	²⁸⁸ June 1, A.D. 1512	April 19, A.D. ²⁸⁹ 1515

Among the governors of the Bārakūru-rājya, Ratnappa-Odeya and Vijayappa-Odeya, who held that office between themselves from A.D. 1512 to 1520, were related to each other as father and son. Ratnappa-Odeya served simultaneously as the governor of the Bārakūru and Maṅgalpuru rājyas. An inscription ²⁹⁰ from Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, belonging to

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- 285 Ibid., 1929-30, No. 355.
 - 286 Ibid., 1928-29, No. 494.
 - 287 SIL., Vol. IX, part II, No. 525.
 - 288 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 228.
 - 289 Ibid., No. 212.
 - 290 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 528.

January, A.D. 1515, states that Ratnappa-Oḍeya was governing the Tuḷu-rājya which included the Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru and other rājyas. Another inscription ²⁹¹ from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, belonging to April, A.D. 1515, refers to him as the descendant of Baicha-daṇḍādhīpa and ascribes to him the lofty epithets of sapta-saptati-durg-ādhiśvara, mēdini-misara-gaṇḍa. Baicha-daṇḍādhīpa is obviously the same as Bayicha-daṇḍa-nāyaka to whose position of eminence in the Tuḷu country during the reigns of Harihara II and Dēvarāya I reference has already been made. Ratnappa-Oḍeya is stated to be serving as governor under the orders of Sāluva-Timma.

In all the inscriptions which mention him, Viṭharasa-Oḍeya is stated to be the son of karapika Lakshmi-nārāyaṇa-Oḍeya. Yatirāya-Oḍeya served his tenure as governor under the orders of Liṅgarasa-Oḍeya. An inscription from Matpāḍi ²⁹² Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1448, Vyaya, Kārttika śu. 12, Tuesday = A.D. 1526, October 17, Wednesday (and not Tuesday) refers itself to the reign of emperor Tirumalarāya and mentions Viṭharasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. This Tirumala should be identified with his namesake, the infant son of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Tirumala, though he survived his famous father, died while still a child and never sat on the throne.

291 SII., Vol. VII, No. 212.

292 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 605.

Vijeyappa-Oḍeya, who was governor of Bārakūru-rājya in A.D. 1528, is stated to have been appointed to that post by Timmappa-Oḍeya on whom the rājya had been conferred by Kṛishṇarāya-nāyaka on whom the territory had earlier been conferred by the emperor himself. A little later, in the same year (A.D. 1528), Timmappa-Oḍeya himself was holding the reins of the governorship of the Bārakūrurājya.

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An inscription from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1450 (expired) 1451, Sarvadhāri, Kārttika śu. 1 probably = A.D. 1528, October 14, Wednesday, provides us with the latest known date for the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in South Kanara.

It is surprising that for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, only one governor, Ratnappa-Oḍeya, is known for the entire reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. As a matter of fact Ratnappa-Oḍeya is the last known governor of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya and the Mūḍa-bidure inscription of April 19, A.D. 1515, which has been discussed above, is the latest known date for any governor who administered the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under the rulers of Vijayanagara before its fall in A.D. 1565. Kṛishṇadēvarāya wielded, all through his momentous reign, unprecedented power and influence as emperor and it is not possible to conclude, on the basis of the mere absence of his governors in the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya after A.D. 1515, that that region of the

Tulu country had once again lapsed into independence. As had been pointed out earlier, the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya included a number of principalities which were under the sway of local ruling families. Krishṇadēvarāya appears to have left these petty chieftains to themselves as long as they proved their obedience to his authority. In view of this, the appointment of separate governors for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya was, perhaps, deemed unnecessary.

Some of the inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya from South Kanara throw further light on the history of local ruling houses. The earliest of these are two inscriptions, one from Sīmantūru,²⁹⁴ Mangalore Taluk, and the other from Puttige,²⁹⁵ Karkala Taluk, both of them date in Śaka 1434, Āṅgīrasa, Jyestha Jyeshtha ba 2, Tuesday = A.D. 1512, June 1. They refer themselves to the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and state that Ratnappa-Oḍeya was governing the Maṅgaḷūru and Bārakūru rājyas under the orders of Sāḷuva Timmaya-dappāyaka. The inscriptions then record an agreement, entered into by Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe of Yellūru, Tirumalarāya Chauṭa of Puttige and Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe, to the effect that they would thenceforward cease all acts of hostility against one another and that in the event of the in-

294 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 340.

295 SII., Vol. VII, No. 228.

vasion of any of their territories by Bhayirarasa of Nagire, they will jointly counter the invading forces.

Of these chieftains, Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe was the successor of Śaṅkarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe to whose mention in the Kāp and Yellūru inscriptions of A.D. 1499 reference has been made above. Tirumalarasa was the then ruling member of the Kinnika-heggaḍe family. This family is referred to in the Udipi inscription of A.D. 1476 and the Bantakallu inscription of A.D. 1483-85, both discussed above.

Tirumalarāya was the then ruling member of the family of the Chauṭas of Puttige. The Poḷali-Ammunaje inscription, discussed above, shows that Tirumalarāya had been ruling at least from A.D. 1508. His is the first Chauṭa name we come across after that of Allappasēkhara who is mentioned in the Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1469 discussed above.

The Śimantūru and Puttige inscriptions also state that the Chieftains agreed to stand united against invasions by Bhairarasa of Nagire. We had stated above that sometime before March, A.D. 1481, the Nagire throne had come to be occupied by Sāluva Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, the nephew of Mallirāya. Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's latest known date is found in an inscription ²⁹⁶ from Kaikiṇi, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District. This inscription, dated Śaka 1416, Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 5 probably = A.D.

1494, November 3, Monday, records that Mahārājādhirāja, Rāja-paramēśvara, Mahāmandalēśvara, Sāluva Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, the ruler of Nagire, Haive, Tulu and Koṅkaṇa rājyas, marched with all his forces against Mokadumba, the Mahammadan governor Gōveya-rājya. The inscription belongs to a period of confusion in the capital of Vijayanagara and hence Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's imperial titles. The claim that he was also the master of the Tulu-rājya shows that Dēvarasa-Oḍeya interfered with the local rulers of the Tulu country. This belligerent attitude on the part of the powerful Nagire ruler must have brought the local Tuluva rulers closer, as is shown by the agreement recorded in the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1499, discussed earlier, and the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions.

Bhairarasa, the Nagire chief mentioned in the two inscriptions, may have been the nephew of Sāluva Dēvarasa and may have succeeded him after A.D. 1494. No other references to his reign have come down to us.

The independence of the Nagire house, evidenced by the Kaikiṇi inscription of Dēvarasa, was lost after Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya ascended the throne at Vijayanagara. This is shown by two other inscriptions²⁹⁷ from Kaikiṇi, dated Śaka 1443, Viśu, Phālguna ba. 3 probably = A.D. 1522, February 13, Thursday. These records refer themselves the reign of Kṛishṇa-

dēvarāya and state that his feudatory Mahāmandalēśvara Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya was then ruling over the Nagire, Hayive, Tulu and Koṅkana rāivas. They record that the Nagire ruler set out with his army against the portuguese captain of Goa (Gōveya Paraṅgada Kapitana mēle dand-etti-hōdalli) and that in the battle which was fought at Maḍagōve (i.e. modern Maḍgaon) two heroes named Tammunāyaka and Vīrunāyaka fell fighting. This invasion of Goa finds no place in Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya's military exploits. It may have been carried out, therefore, on the initiative of Dēvarāya himself.

The appellation Immaḍi prefixed to his name suggests that Dēvarāya was different from Dēvarasa-Oḍeya whose latest inscription from Kaikiṇi belongs to A.D. 1494. Dēvarasa-Oḍeya had been succeeded by Bhairarasa, who may have been his nephew, and who is referred to in the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions of A.D. 1512. Immaḍi Dēvarāya may have been the nephew of Bhairarasa and, therefore, may have succeeded him sometime after A.D. 1512.

An inscription from Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1444, Chitrabhānu, Chaitra ba. 12, Monday = A.D. 1522, March 24, and which has already been discussed in detail while narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkala family above, refers itself to the reign of Immaḍi Bhairavarasa without at the same time referring to the emperor Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Immaḍi Bhairarasa succeeded his uncle Bhairava IV whose latest known date falls in A.D. 1501.



Immadi Bhairarasa's earliest inscription, ²⁹⁹ from Kalasa, bears the date Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Śrāvana śu. 15, Sunday = A.D. 1516, July 13. It refers itself to the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and names the chief's mother as Bommala-dēvi, a fact which finds repetition in his Varāṅga inscription of A.D. 1522. It records the interesting fact that the emperor of Vijayanagara marched into the Tulu-rājya with his armies and set up his camp in the Bhuvanaśāle at Maṅgaḷūru. Immadi Bhairarasa claims in the record that, as a result of this imperial action, his own status as a ruler fell into jeopardy. This leads us to believe that Krishṇadēvarāya's march into the Tulu country followed an act of insubordination on the part of the Kalasa-Kārkala ruler. The inscription further states that the latter resolved to repair the temple of Kaḷasaṇātha if the emperor and his forces withdrew. The inscription records that the desired withdrawal was effected and that the temple was accordingly repaired.

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Another inscription of Immadi Bhairarasa, also from Kalasa, dated in Śaka 1446, Tārana, Bhādrapada śu. 5, Thursday = A.D. 1524, August 4, and referring itself to the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, states that he was ruling over the territories both below and above the Ghāṭs. It also refers to his minister (pradhāna) Sūrappa-sēnabōva as administering Kalasa-sīme.

299 Ibid., Mg. No. 41.

300 Ibid., Mg. No. 62.

The latest known date for Immaḍi Bhairarasa's reign³⁰¹ is furnished by an inscription from Kallabasti near Bagguṇji in Koppa Taluk, Chikmagalur District, which is dated in Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Chaitra śu. 10, Wednesday = A.D. 1530, March 9. The glorious reign of Krishpadēvarāya had ended in A.D. 1529 and the Kallabasti inscription makes no reference to either his successor Achyutarāya or to imperial authority. It records a grant to Pārśva-Tīrthaṅkara of Kallabasti by Kāḷaladēvi, the younger sister of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief, while she was administering the Baguṇji-sīma, for the merit of her deceased daughter Rāmadēvi.

An inscription³⁰² from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, referring itself to the reign of Krishpadēvarāya, is dated Śaka 1445, Chitrabhānu, Māgha śu. 5 probably = A.D. 1523, January 22, Thursday. It records a gift of land to the temple of Sēnēśvara at Baindūru by the minister (mantri) Śaṅkara-sēnabōva, while Mahāmandalēśvara Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, son (kumāra) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, was ruling over all his possessions (samasta-rājya) including Baindūru, from his capital Saṅgītapura (i.e. Hāduvaḷḷi). We had seen above that, according to the Baindūru inscription of Tuluva Vīra Narasiṃha, Mahāmandalēśvara Indagarasa-Oḍeya was on the throne of Hādu-

301 Ibid., Kp. No. 47.

302 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 539.

valiya-rājya in A.D. 1508. Indagarasa-Oḍeya had succeeded his uncle Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya whose latest known date as shown above, fell in A.D. 1431. Since Dēvarasa-Oḍeya calls himself the son (kumāra which, as stated above, really stands for aliya or nephew) of Saṅgirāya and since the available inscriptions do not suggest the reign of another Saṅgirāya after A.D. 1508, Dēvarāya-Oḍeya may be considered to have been another nephew of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of A.D. 1431 and as the younger brother of Indagarasa - Oḍeya. Dēvarasa had ended his reign by A.D. 1527 to which year an inscription from Bhaṭkaḷ, mentioning his successor Gururāya-Oḍeya, belongs. It is dated Śaka 1449, Sarvajit, Mārgasīra śu. 15, Saturday, lunar eclipse = A.D. 1527, December 7. ³⁰³

This inscription, which refers itself to the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, mentions Mahāmandalēśvara Gururāya-Oḍeya as the son (vara-kumāra) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and as ruling over all his possessions (samasta-rājya) including Bhaṭkaḷa from his capital Saṅgītapura. In spite of the usage of the term kumāra = son, Gururāya must be taken to have been the nephew (aliya) of Saṅgirāya. He must have been the younger brother of both Indagarasa and Dēvarasa. The inscription also refers to an earlier grant made by Yindararasa i.e. Indagarasa. The subsequent history of this family will be discussed along with the reigns of Krishṇadēvarāya's successors.

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An inscription from Sujēru, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri, Vaisākha ba. 2, Tuesday = A.D. 1528, May 6, Wednesday (and not Tuesday), which makes no reference to the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, records an interesting pact between two local chieftains, Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa of Puttige and Vīra Narasiṃha-Baṅga of Baṅgavāḍi. The agreement, which was brought about by Kṛishṇānanda-Oḍeya and his disciple Vēdānanda-Oḍeya and signed in the presence of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe, was to the effect that the Baṅga chief should not impede the movements of the Chauṭa and his followers from the east to the west and vice versa; that the latter should not, thenceforward, stage any battles at Ammeṃ-baḷa; that the Chauṭa should not impede the movements of the Baṅga and his followers from the south to the north and vice versa; that neither of the parties to the agreement should secure soldiers and horses from the ruler of Keravase (i.e. the Kaḷasa-Kārkala ruler) and invade the other's territory and that neither should capture the ballālūg belonging to the other camp.

Of the names occurring in the inscription, Tuḷuvarasa, the Chauṭa chief of Puttige, was, probably, the direct successor to Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa whose known dates, as pointed out above, fall in A.D. 1508 and 1512. Among the predecessors of the Baṅga chief Vīra Narasiṃha, the latest

name is that of K_gmirāyarasa who, according to the Inda-
beṭṭu inscription discussed above, was ruling in A.D. 1473.
Tirumalarasa, the Kinika-heggaḍe chief, in whose presence
the agreement was written, is mentioned, as shown above, in
the Sīmantūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1512. The Kera-
vase (i.e. Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa) ruler, referred to in the ins-
cription, is Immaḍi Bhairarasa (Bhairava IV of the genea-
logical table given earlier in this Chapter), whose known
dates range from A.D. 1516 to 1530.

The agreement recorded in the Sujēru inscription,
however, appears to have been broken immediately by the Baṅga
chieftain. For, within a week after the date of this ins-
cription Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa figures in an agreement between
him and Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and two other local
chieftains, the contents of which go inimical, among others,
to the Baṅga chief. This latter agreement is of importance
to the history of South Kanara as it involves, in one way or
the other, almost all the local ruling families of the Maṅga-
lūru region. The agreement which, therefore, needs to be
studied in some details, is found written on two copper plate
sets, ³⁰⁵ both of them found in Kārkaḷa.

These two copper plate charters are both dated in
Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri, Vṛishabha 14, Monday = A.D. 1528,
May 10, Sunday (and not Monday) and are in the form of letters
of exchange, recording the same agreement, one charter signed

and given by Tuluvarasa-Chauṭa and Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina to Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and Kinnikanimita-Nāḷina and the other vice versa. No reference is made to Vijaya-nagara authority and the agreement is stated to have been brought about by the good offices of Krishṇānanda-ḍēya who is referred to in the Sujēru inscription as well.

They record that if the Chauṭa and his ally Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina were to be attacked from the south and north by the Baṅga, Bhairarasa of Kārkaḷa and the Kunda-heggaḍe, then the Kinnika-heggaḍe chief and his ally Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina will assist the defenders with their armies; that if Bhairarasa sues for peace, neither of the two parties to the agreement shall consent for peace without the participation of the other; that if Nandarasa, the chief of Paḍṇva-Bidire, fails to act according to the treaty he had signed with the Chauṭa and his ally, Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally will assist the latter in forcing Nandarasa to act up to his words; that if, on the other hand, the Baṅga, Bhairarasa of Kārkaḷa and Kunda-heggaḍe invade the territories of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina, the other parties to the agreement, Tuluvarasa-Chauṭa and Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina shall help the defenders with their armies; that there shall be no unilateral agreement for peace with Bhairarasa; that if the Baṅga chief should attack the Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally, the Chauṭa and his ally shall support the defenders with their three thousand warriors; that the

mutual assistance, envisaged by the treaty, should be kept up even if it meant the total destruction of the agreeing parties.

There is, then, a reference in the two records to a dispute between Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggade and Kinnika-nimita-Nālinā on the one hand and Madda-heggade of Papambūru on the other as to who should rightfully claim the revenue income to be collected and paid by the Baṅga and Ajila rulers from the villages of Yekkāru, Kuttyattūru and Turatakallu. The record stipulates that the Chauṭa and his ally should assist the Kinnika-heggade and his ally in receiving the revenue income over the claims of Madda-heggade; that if, in order to prevent his rival claimants from getting the amount, Madda-heggade should resort to force, the Chauṭa and his ally should join the Kinnika-heggade and his ally in laying waste and burning to the ground the territories of Madda-heggade. The records end with the condition that, for all the battles to be fought within the meaning of the treaty recorded in those charters, the warriors should be armed at the expense of their respective masters.

We thus find that the above treaty concerns, in one way or the other, the following ruling families of the Maṅga-lūru region:- Kaṭasa-Kārkala (or Keravase); Chauṭa of Puttige; Baṅga of Baṅgavāḍi; Kinnika-heggade; Kunda-heggade; Madda-heggade of Papambūru; Ajila; the Nālinas and Paḍuva-Sidire. The fact that these rulers shifted their allegiance and friendship from one to the other without the least reference to im-

perial authority shows the degree of independence which they enjoyed even during the ~~regt~~ the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya.

Of these local rulers, the Sujērī inscription mentions the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler as the chief of Keravase without giving his name, Tuḷuvarasa, the Chauṭa chief of Puttige, Vīra Narasiṃha, the Baṅga chief and Tirumalarasa, the Kinnika-heggaḍe chief.

Of the others, the copper-plate charters refer to the Kunda-heggaḍe, Madda-heggaḍe and Ajila families without giving the names of the then ruling members of these houses. According to the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions, discussed above, Dēvarāḍi was ruling over the Kunda-heggaḍe principality in A.D. 1512. According to the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1499, also discussed above, Tirumalarasa was the then Madda-heggaḍe chief. It is not known if these two chiefs had continued to rule when the two Kārkaḷa copper-plate charters were issued in A.D. 1528, or had made way for their successors. We learn from these copper-plates, for the first time, that the Madda-heggaḍe possessions were situated around Papambūru, near Mangalore.

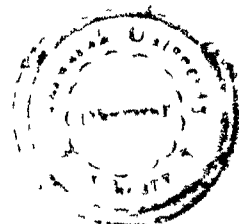
The name of the Ajila chief is not given in either of the copper plates. The Ajilas are referred to in the Mangalore inscription ³⁰⁶ of Dēvarāya I, belonging to A.D. 1418, as assisting Timmanna-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya, in administrative matters.

Two chiefs bearing the family name of Nāḷina are mentioned in the copper plate records: Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina as the ally of Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa and Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina as the ally of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe. They were, probably, members of two branches of the same family called Nāḷina which is mentioned in these records for the first time.

The principality of Paḍuva-Bidire and its ruler Nandarasa also appear for the first time in these charters. Paḍuva-Bidire is the same as modern Paḍubidri, a village roughly half way between Mangalore and Udipi on the coastal road.

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Kṛishṇadēvarāya's inscription from Nīlāvāra, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1450 (expired) 1451 (current), Sarvadhāri, Jyēshṭha sū. 10 probably = A.D. 1528, May 28, Thursday, records a grant of 7-1/2 kāṭi-gadvāna (gold coins) to goddess Durgādēvi of Nīruvāra (i.e. Nīlāvāra, the findspot of the inscription) by Vijeyanna-Oḍeya, the governor of Bāra-kūru-rājya for having caused distress to the village. The inscription is a dāna-paṭṭi given to the goddess and hence the grant may be termed an act of expiation performed by the governor. The nature of the distress suffered by the village is not given in the inscription.



Krishnadēvarāya's historic reign came to an end in A.D. 1529 when he died perhaps not long after the 23rd of April of that year to which date his inscription in front of the statue of Ugra-Narasimha at Hampi belongs. The end of this great monarch, undoubtedly one of the greatest to have ever ruled in South India, was the beginning of the empire's decline. The glories of his reign appear to the students of history all the greater, and rightly so, because of the fall and shattering of the vast empire into irretrievable bits within four decades of his death for want of a leader of his calibre, energy and enterprise.

Krishnadēvarāya's death was followed by a brief dispute over succession between the supporters of the late emperor's infant son Tirumala and those of his half-brother Achyutarāya. Achyutarāya won the race and crowned himself emperor. He was on the throne for over a decade (A.D. 1530-42). During this period, chieftains ruling over various principalities within the empire and certain nobles at the court of Vijayanagara appropriated more and more powers for themselves at the expense of the imperial throne. Rāmarāya, the late emperor's son-in-law and Salakarāju-Tirumala, the brother-in-law of Achyutarāya, rose to great power at the imperial court but they cared less for the empire's safety and welfare than for self-aggrandisement and each for the other's elimination.

Subsequently, when Achyutarāya died in A.D. 1542, Salakarāju-Tirumala raised Veṅkaṭa, the young son of the former,

to the throne with the ultimate ambition of usurping the throne for himself. In spite of the opposition of Rāmarāya and the nobles at the court, Tirumala had the young emperor and all the members of the royal family liquidated and had himself proclaimed emperor. Rāmarāya and his supporters now took up the cudgels, proclaimed Sadāsivarāya, son of Raṅga who was also a brother of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, as emperor and prepared to challenge the tyrant Salakarāju-Tirumala. Within a few months, Rāmarāya defeated and killed the usurper and placed Sadāsivarāya on the throne at Vijayanagara.

The death of Achyutarāya, the accession and eventual assassination of his young son Venkaṭa, the tyrannical and outrageous rule, for a few months, of the regicide Salakarāju Tirumala, his defeat and death at the hands of Rāmarāya and Sadāsivarāya's elevation to the throne had all transpired in the year A.D. 1542. Sadāsiva lived until A.D. 1576; he was officially styled emperor but had no powers to wield. Until A.D. 1565, Rāmarāya ruled the vast empire in his name; after A.D. 1565, Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala and his son Śrīraṅga ruled in his name over an empire which had, in many respects, ceased to be.

The present thesis will be concluded with the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi (Tālikōṭa) fought between the forces of Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara and the combined armies of the Sultāns of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Berar. With the least expected yet complete rout of the Hindu forces in this battle, the empire of Vijayanagara, conceived by

Vidyāranya, set up by Harihara and Bukka and nourished by a line of zealous sovereigns, among them Krishpadēvarāya being the last and most successful, perished in agony. The empire which survived this disastrous defeat was not an extension of the Vijayanagara that fell in Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi but was merely the creation of the then prevailing political circumstances. What effects the destruction of Vijayanagara had upon the then prevailing conditions in South Kanara will be narrated briefly in the last chapter of this thesis. The political history of that region for the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāsīva is given hereunder.

The names and dates of the governors who administered the Bārakūru-rājya during these two reigns are as follows:

Bārakūru-rājya

<u>Governor's name</u>	<u>Earliest known date</u>	<u>Latest known date</u>
Koṇḍa-Oḍeya or Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya	July 2, A.D. 1533 ³⁰⁸	February 26, A.D. 1536
Papḍaridēva- Oḍeya	February 9, A.D. 1537 ³¹⁰	June-July A.D. 1542 ³¹¹

308 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 555.

309 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 487.

310 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 578.

311 Ibid., No. 603.

Achchappa-	August 11, A.D.	November 7, A.D.
	312	313
Oḍeya	1542	1546
Yekadaḷakhāna-	April 7, A.D.	. . .
	314	
Oḍeya	1551	
Mallappa-	October 27, A.D.	. . .
	315	
Oḍeya	1554	
Kaleya-Yellappa-	January 28, A.D.	October 28, A.D.
	316	317
Oḍeya	1560	1562

As for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, it had been pointed out above that since A.D. 1515, even while Krishṇadēvarāya was on the throne, the practice of appointing governors for that region had been discontinued. The Maṅgaḷūru region, however, continued to form part of the Vijayanagara empire even during the reigns of Achyuta-rāya and Sadāsiva.

Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya and Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya were appointed to the post by Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka. An inscription ³¹⁸ from

312 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 599.

313 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 621 A.

314 Ibid., No. 621 B.

315 Ibid., No. 655.

316 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 603.

317 SII., Vol. VII, No. 366.

318 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 487.

Uppūru, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1477 (expired) 1478 (current) (wrong for Śaka 1457-58), Manmatha, Phālguna śu. 5 probably = A.D. 1536, February 26, Saturday, states that Śaṅkapa-nāyaka, after receiving the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rāivas from Achyūtarāya, appointed Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya as governor for the former rāiva. It has been suggested elsewhere ³¹⁹ that Śaṅkapa-nāyaka may have been of the Keḷadi family and that he may have been the father of Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka. This suggestion rests upon the conjecture that since Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka's sons bore the names of Doḍḍa and Chikka Saṅkappa, their grandfather (i.e. Sadāśiva-nāyaka's father) may have had the name of Saṅkappa. While this will, no doubt, be in keeping with the well-known system of giving a person's name to his grandson, it has to be admitted that the only name by which Sadāśiva-nāyaka's father is known is Chauda. Even the Śaṅkaranārāyapa inscription of A.D. 1562 of the reign of Sadāśivarāya, coming as it does from South Kanara itself, refers to Sadāśiva-nāyaka's father as Chauda and not by any other name.

319 K.D. Swaminathan: The Nāyakas of Ikkēri, pp. 18-19.

What is more, the Uppūru inscription gives the name of the imperial officer as Suṅkapa-nāyaka and not as Saṅkapa-nāyaka. There is, therefore, no conclusive evidence to show that the Keḷadi house had secured sway over the Tulu country even during the time of Chauda, the father of Sadāsiva-nāyaka.

The Uppūru inscription records that the governor Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya marched his forces into Uppūru-grāma to support some imperial cause (Uppūra-grāmada mēle rājakāryava maḍuvāga) and that, at that time, excesses were committed against the lives of men and the chastity of women. As an act of compensation, Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya made a grant of incomes from taxes to one Śiva-kēkuḍe. The excesses committed appear to have cost Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya his governorship. For an inscription ³²⁰ from Kōṭṭēśvara, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi, Māgha ba. 14, Thursday = A.D. 1537, February 8, F.D.T. .19, records a grant of land and

320 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 578. While publishing the text, the details of the date contained in the record were wrongly equated to February 8, A.D. 1536. The name of the governor, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya had not been read in the published text and hence Suṅkapa-nāyaka himself is stated in the introduction to have been the governor on that date.

gold by Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya to the deties Kōṭināthadēva and Saṅkamadēvi while Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya was serving as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Saṅkapa-nāyaka. The reference to Koṇḍappa-oḍeya merely as the donor and the mention of Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya shows that the former had been removed from that post at some date subsequent to the date of the Uppūru inscription. Though Achyutarāya is known to have been on the throne till A.D. 1542, the above record from Kōṭēsvara contains the latest date known for his reign from South Kanara. His young son Veṅkaṭa, who succeeded him, but who was cruelly put to death by his own maternal uncle Salakarāju-Tirumala within a few months, has left behind two inscriptions of his reign in South Kanara. The earlier ³²¹ of these, from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Bhādrapada śu. 1, Friday, solar eclipse = A.D. 1542, August 12, Saturday (the solar eclipse having occurred on the previous day which was Śrāvaṇa ³²² ba. 15, Friday). The other inscription, also from Handāḍi, is dated Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Āṣviṇa śu. 12, Wednesday = A.D. 1542, September 20. Both the records refer to Achchappa-Oḍeya as governor of Bārakūru-rājya

and to one Śaṅku-heggaḍe as the builder of the temple of god Gōpinātha. No record belonging to the brief but bitter reign of Salakarāju-Tirumala has been found in South Kanara.

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The earliest inscription from South Kanara of the reign of Sadāsivarāya, who was placed on the throne in A.D. 1542 itself, is from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk and bears the date Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Kārttika śu. 1 probably = A.D. 1546, October 25, Monday. An inscription ³²⁴ from Kōṭeśvara in the same Taluk, bearing two dates, namely Śaka 1469, Parābhava, Kārttika śu. 15 probably = A.D. 1546, November 7, Sunday, and Virōdhikṛit, Vaisākha śu. 5 probably = A.D. 1551, April 11, Saturday, states that, on the former date, Achchappa-Oḍeya was governing Bārakūru-rājya under orders from Veṅkaṭādri-rāja-Mahārāya-arasu, on whom the rājya had been conferred by Sadāsivarāya and that, on the latter date, Yekadaḷakhāna-Oḍeya was administering the same province under orders from Rāmarāja-Veṅkaṭādrirāja. Rāmarāja was the son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya and Veṅkaṭādri was his younger brother. Yekadaḷakhāna is the only Muslim officer known from records to have held the post of governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

The contents of the record pertaining to the second date (A.D. 1551) are of some significance. It is stated

322 Ibid., No. 597.

323 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 620.

324 Ibid., No. 621.

that the whole of Tulu-rājya collected at Kōṭṣvara to celebrate the festival named therein as Tudiya-habba. For reasons not stated in the record, a great disturbance arose and the pilgrims were involved in armed fights among themselves. The dead bodies of the Brāhmanas and Sūdras and even of cows lay scattered within the precincts of the Kōṭṣvara temple. Having been thus defiled, the temple was closed and all worship and services to the deity were suspended. As an act of expiation and in order that merit may accrue to Rāmarāja and Veṅkaṭādri, Yekadalakhāna made certain grants thus enabling the temple to return to its former sanctity and grandeur. It is stated in the record that the tragedies at the Tudiya-habba had occurred six months before the date of the record i.e. Vaisākha śu. 5. Tudi stands for an ornamented lamp and the sixth month before Vaisākha was Kārttika. Thus, Tudiya-habba, in all probability, refers to the festival of lights. *Dr. D. S. Srinivas*

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An inscription of Sadāsiva from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, is of much importance for the history of South Kanara. It is dated Śaka 1476, Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 1 probably = A.D. 1554, October 27, Saturday. It records that, under orders from Śadāsivarāya, Sadāsivanāyaka made himself master of the Tulu-rājya and appointed Mallappa-Oḍeya as governor ^{of} Bārakūru-rājya. Sadāsivanāyaka was a member of

the Keladi royal house which continued its hold over the Tulu country even after the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565.

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King Basavarāja of the Keladi dynasty states in his Sivatattvaratnākara that Rāmarāja offered as a prize to Sadāsivanāyaka, for his acts of bravery and loyalty, the provinces of Gutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru. A little later on in the same work, Basvarāja says ³²⁷ that Sadāsiva-nāyaka was asked to subdue the scheming chieftains of Kēraḷa and Tuluva and that the order was not only carried out but that Sadāsiva-nāyaka took the defeated chieftains as prisoners to the imperial capital. This invasion of the Tulu country by the Keladi chieftain finds no mention in the epigraphical records of the region. It may be that after the passing away of Krishṇadēvarāya, the Tuluva chieftains had become once again recalcitrant and that Sadāsiva-nāyaka on whom the region had been bestowed took the necessary military steps to ensure his actual authority over the territory. An inscription ³²⁸ from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1562 refers to the territorial gifts received by Sadāsiva-nāyaka from Rāmarāja, including the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas, as amara-māgaṇi i.e. perpetual fiefs. This inscrip-

326 Sivatattvarmākara, Kallōla 5, Taraṅga 5 verse 20.

327 Ibid., verse 30 ff.

328 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 674.



tion records the construction of a matha for Virūpākshadēva by the Keḷadi chief in order that his deceased parents, Chaudapa and Tirumamma may attain Kailāsapadavi.

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A copper-plate inscription from Kārkaḷa, dated in Śaka 1479, Nalā, Kārttika śu. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1556, October 4 refers itself to the reign of Sadāsivarāya and Rāmarāja from Vijayanagara and to the sway of Keḷadi Sadāsiva-nāyaka over the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas. It records the grant of lands to his preceptor Munichandradēva by Tirumalarasa-Madda-heggaḍe and his ally Gaṇapapa-sāmantha Nāḷipa. The record gives a description of the town of Kāpu which was included in the Madda-heggaḍe principality. We had seen above that according to the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1449, the name of the then Madda-heggaḍe chief was Tirumalarasa. The name of the chieftains of this family who succeeded him and preceded his namesake of the Kārkaḷa copper plate inscription under study, are not found given in the available records of the region.

It has been shown above that Panambūru, a coastal village to the north of Mangalore and Udipi, was included in the Madda-heggaḍe principality. Kāpu, which, according to the copper-plate inscription under study, fell within the same principality, is a village lying on the coast, roughly 20 miles to the north of Panambūru. It may be concluded from this that the Madda-heggaḍe principality was a linear tract lying along the west coast.

The two copper-plate charters from Kārkāḷa, belonging to A.D. 1528 and discussed above in some detail, mention Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina and Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷin^a as two local chieftains. It is not known if Gaṇapana-sāmānta Nāḷina, appearing in the copper-plate inscription under study, was a successor to any of these two Nāḷinas or was a member of a third branch of the family.

We have seen above that even during the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, records of the local rulers of the Maṅga-lūru region lacked references to Vijayanagara authority. The copper-plate inscription, under study, makes a departure in this regard by referring to the subordination of the Tuḷu-rājya to the authority of Sadāsivarāya, Rāmarāja and Keḷadi Sadāsiva-nāyaka. It is likely that after the death of Krishṇadēvarāya, the empire witnessed another period of dynastic confusion. Then, the local Tuḷuva rulers may have regained their independence, which they had been enjoying under sufferance during Krishṇadēvaraya's reign. Sadāsiva-nāyaka, in all probability, subdued these chieftains and asserted his own supremacy over them, as is evidenced by the Kārkāḷa copper-plate record of A.D. 1556.

Two stone inscriptions ³³⁰ from Baṇḍūru, Coondapur Taluk, both of them dated Śaka 1482, Siddhārthī, Vaiśākha śu. 15 probably = A.D. 1559, April 21, Friday, belonging to the

reign of Sadāsivarāya, refer to the rule of Mahāmandalēśvara Chenna-Bhayirādēvi-Amma, the daughter (vara-kumārī) of Bhayirādēvi-Amma, over her kingdom (samasta rājya) including Bayidūru-rājya, from her capital at Saṅgītapura (i.e. Hāḍuvaḷḷi).

In the last passage dealing with the history of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi family, it had been pointed out that by A.D. 1527, Dēvarasa-Oḍeya had been succeeded by his nephew Gururāya-Oḍeya. In April, A.D. 1530, Gururāya-Oḍeya invaded the possessions of the Nagire ruler Immaḍi Sāluva Kṛishṇadēvarasa and carried his arms right upto the city of Nagire before his progress was effectively checked by the defenders. In the battle, fought nearabout Nagire, Gururāya-Oḍeya sustained defeat and was saved from complete rout only by the valour of his soldier Īśvaradēva-nāyaka whose death in the battle the inscription seeks to commemorate. ³³¹ Some time before A.D. 1542, Gururāya-Oḍeya ended his reign and the Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya came for the first time under the reign of a queen. This ³³² fact is brought to light by two inscriptions from Bhaṭkaḷa, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District, dated in Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Kārttika śu. 15, Monday = A.D. 1542, October 23. They belong to the reign of Achyutarāya and state that Mahāmandalēśvara Chennādēvi Amma, niece (sose) of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, was ruling over Hāḍuvaḷḷi, Bhaṭakala and other rājyas from her headquarters at Saṅgītapura. They then record that the

331 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol. III, part I, No.8.

332 Ibid., Nos. 12 and 13.

Portuguese captain of Goa (paraṅgada Kāpita) laid siege to Bhaṭakaḷa, burnt the city and marched on the palace when Eṅkappa-nāyaka, attached to the service of Gururāya-Oḍeya, stopped the enemies at the gates and fell fighting. The statement that Chennādēvi-Amma was the then Hāḍuvallī ruler and the reference to the deceased hero as in the service of Gururāya-Oḍeya show that the latter had ceased to be ruler not long before the date of the Bhaṭakaḷa inscriptions. This is further proved by the fact that foreign travellers noted the reign of a king over the region in A.D. 1540 while, according to the same source, the throne had passed over to a queen in A.D. 1543.³³³

Chennādēvi-Amma of the Bhaṭakaḷa inscriptions is to be identified with Chenna-Bhayirādēvi-Amma of the two Bain-dūru inscriptions of A.D. 1559, being discussed. While these two records refer to her as the daughter of Bhayirādēvi-Amma, the two Bhaṭakaḷa inscriptions state that she was the niece of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya. We have seen above that Dēvarasa-Oḍeya was the brother and predecessor of Gururāya-Oḍeya. Bhayirādēvi must have been the sister not only of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, but also of his predecessor Indagarasa-Oḍeya and successor Gururāya-Oḍeya, who were all of them nephews of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. The specific reference in the records of Chenna Bhayirādēvi-Amma as the daughter of Bhayirādēvi-Amma and niece (sose) of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya may be because of the fact that while Dēvarasa-Oḍeya and Bhayirādēvi were born of one

mother, Indagarasa and Gururāya may have been born of another sister (or other sisters) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. The name of the mother of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya and Bhayirādēvi-Amma was Vīrā-³³⁴dēvi, who is described in an inscription of A.D. 1545 and 1551 as Chenna Bhayirādēvi Amma's grandmother.

The latest known date for the rule of Chenna Bhayirādēvi-Amma is furnished by the two Bayndūru inscriptions discussed above viz., Friday, April 21, A.D. 1559. She reigned well and perhaps long enough to have witnessed the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565. An inscription ³³⁵from Bhaṭkaḷ describes her as having earned the goodwill of the emperor Sadāsiva. Her inscription ³³⁶of A.D. 1556 from Bhaṭkaḷa describes Chenna-Bhairava-Mahādēvi as the daughter of Bhairādēvi and as the niece (sose) of Krishṇadēva-nṛpati. From this it may be concluded that Dēvarasa-Oḍeya also had the name of Krishṇa-dēvarasa. This record eulogises Chenna Bhairādēvi-Amma as a great devotee of the Jina and as having earned the praise of the learned and the poets. Jeṭṭināyaka, whose munificence and diplomacy were well-known and Vīrapa-nāyaka, who was as generous as he was brave, were, according to this record, her minister (pradhāna) and general (sēnā-pati) respectively.

Chenna-Bhayirādēvi-Amma is the last ruler of the Hāḍuvali-rājya whose inscriptions have come down to us. Accord-³³⁷ing to foreign travellers, the Hāḍuvali principality was

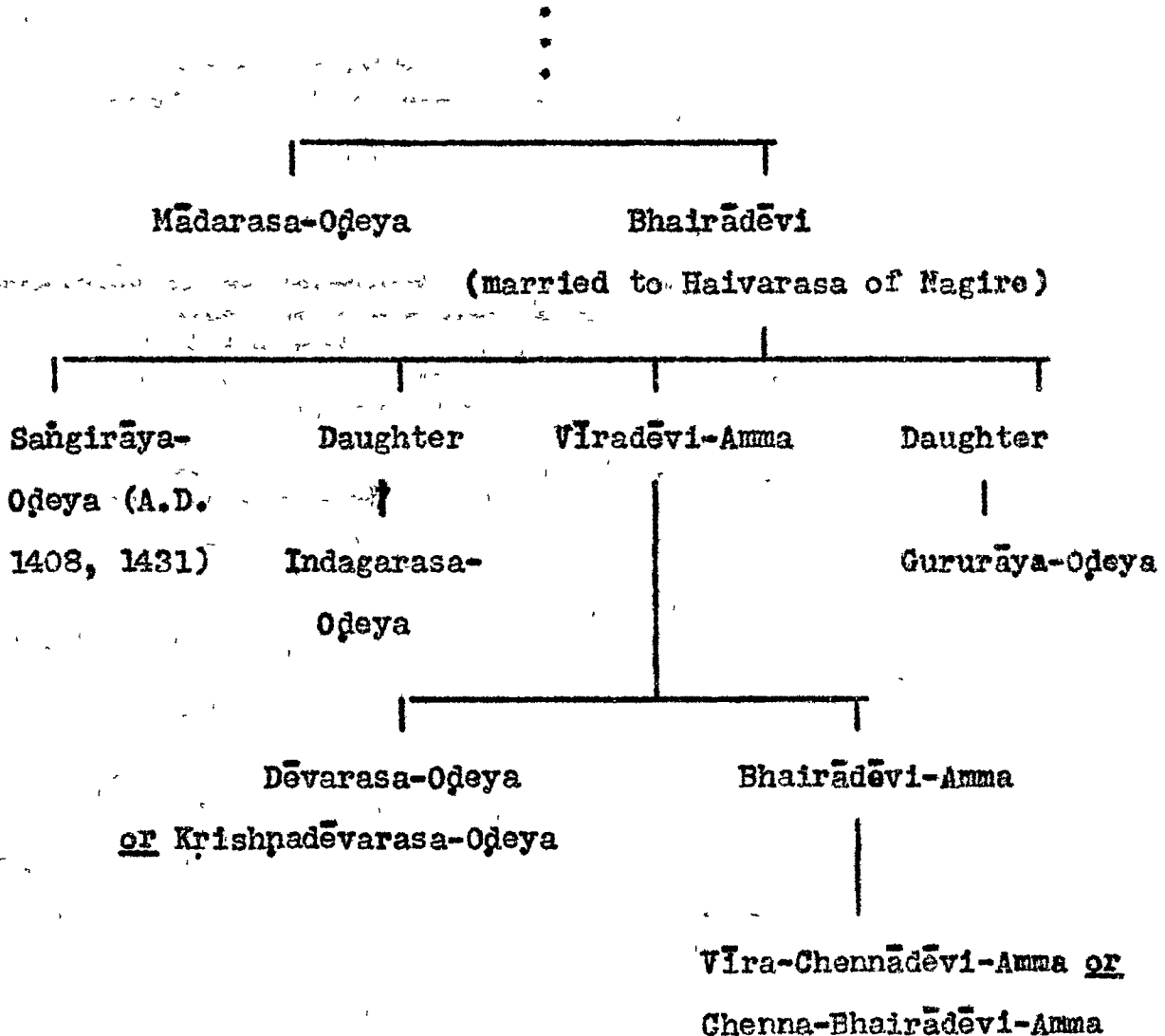
334 Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. III, part I, No.15

335 Ibid., No. 14

336 A N

subject to the reign of a queen in A.D. 1567 and even in A.D. 1569 and was finally annexed into the Keladi kingdom by ³³⁸ Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka I (A.D. 1586-1629). Buchanan tells us that ever since the spread of the Keladi power over this region, the Saiva faith of the Keladi rulers and the Jaina faith of the local rulers of the Tulu country clashed and that Hāduvaḷḷi was finally destroyed by the rulers of Keladi.

The lineage of the ruling house of Hāduvaḷḷi^{is} given below in the form of a genealogical tree:



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A much damaged inscription from Baḍaga-Kajakār, Mangalore Taluk, records an order issued by Keḷadi Sadā-siva-nāyaka to the Baṅga chief, whose name is not given in the record, in the cyclic year Dundubhi, Chaitra ba. 5. Wednesday = A.D. 1562, March 25. We have seen above, that, according to the Sujēru inscription of A.D. 1528, the then Baṅga chieftain was Vīra-Narasimha-Baṅga. The name of the Baṅga chieftain at the time of the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565 was Lakshmappa Baṅga.³⁴⁰ But no records mentioning him or any of his successors have come down to us. Buchanan³⁴¹ tells us that the Baṅga principality was put an end to by the Keḷadi rulers. The names and dates of the Baṅga chieftains as gleaned from available records is listed below:

Pāṇḍyapparasa I
(A.D. 1410

Vithaladevi (A.D. 1417)

Pāṇḍyapparasa-Baṅga II

(A.D. 1431, 1437)

Basavapparasa Baṅga (A.D. 1456)

Kāmirāya-arasa-Baṅga (A.D. 1461, 1469, 1473)

Vīra Narasimha-Baṅga (A.D. 1528)

338 Buchanan's Southern India, Vol. III, p. 109.

339 ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 529.

340 QJMS., Vol. XLVI, pp. 69-71.

341 Buchanan's Southern India, Vol. III, pp. 68-69;

342

An inscription from Arigudi, Puttur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1484, Dundubhi, Vaiśākha śu. 3, Monday = A.D. 1562, April 6, when Sadāsivarāya was the nominal emperor, states that aliya Rāmappayadēva-Mahārāsa^a was ruling over the empire from the bejewelled throne at Vijayanagra. We have also shown above that Sadāsiva-Nāyaka, the Keladi ruler, claims in some of his inscriptions from South Kanara that the Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru rājyas were conferred upon him by Rāmārāya and his brother Venkaṭādri. These only illustrate the well known historical fact that aliya Rāmārāya and his brother had become very powerful well before the fatal year of A.D. 1565.

A few inscriptions bearing dates which fall within the reign periods of Achyutarāya and Sadāsivarāya refer themselves to the rule of local rulers without, at the same time, referring to imperial authority. One such is an inscription³⁴³ from Vēpūr, Karkala Taluk, dated in Śaka 1459, Hēmalambi, Kārttika śu. 10, Sunday = A.D. 1537, October 14. It records the installation of the images of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras in the Śāntiśvara Chaitya at Vēpūru by maṇḍalika Sōmānātha Sālūva Pāṇḍya-dēvarasa-Ajila, ruler of Āruva-rājya and son of Honnammadēvi, and by his minister (pradhāni) Ādyadēvarasa. They also made certain grants of land which were entrusted to the care of Pāṇḍyappoḍeya.

342 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 348.

343 SII., Vol. VII, No. 256.

Though the Ajila family finds mention as early as in A.D. 1418, to which year the Mangalore inscription of Dēva-rāya I, discussed earlier, belongs, we do not find any other earlier member of this family mentioned by name in the available records from South Kanara. Pāṇḍyappaḍeya of this inscription is to be identified with the then Kaḷasa-Kār-kaḷa ruler in whose territory Vēṇūru was included.

Three inscriptions from Paḍuva-Paṇambūru in the Mangalore Taluk reveal that, during this period, the village and its surroundings were under the rule of a family named Sāmanta. Two of these inscriptions, one belonging to August³⁴⁴ A.D. 1542 and the other to February, A.D. 1559, refer themselves to the rule of Duggaṇa-sāmanta, the nephew (aliya)³⁴⁵ of Kinnika-sāmanta. The third inscription, also belonging to August, 1542, refers to the rule of Kinnika-sāmanta. It may be concluded, therefore, that Kinnika-sāmanta was succeeded by his nephew Duggaṇa-sāmanta in August, A.D. 1542. Duggaṇa-sāmanta's record of A.D. 1542 registers a gift of land made by the chieftain with the consent of his elder sister (akka)³⁴⁶ Chennammadēvi. This was necessitated obviously because of the aliya-santāna system followed by the sāmanta family according to which Chennammadēvi's son would eventually succeed Duggaṇa-sāmanta.

344 Ibid., No. 262.

345 Ibid., No. 263.

346 Ibid., No. 264.

While narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkāḷa family, it was stated above that Immaḍi Bhairavarasa (Bhairava V of the genealogical tree given above) succeeded his uncle Bhairava IV sometime after A.D. 1501. The latest known date for Bhairava V falls in A.D. 1530.³⁴⁷ We have seen above that his successor Pāṇḍyappaḍeya is referred to in the Vēpūr inscription of A.D. 1537. The earliest direct reference to his reign is furnished by his inscription from Kaḷasa, Mudgere Taluk, Chikmagalur District, bearing the date Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit, Jyēshṭha śu. 3, Thursday = A.D. 1542, May 17, Wednesday (and not Thursday).³⁴⁸ His inscription from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, gives us some information about this ruler. The record is dated Śaka 1467, Krōdhi, Māgha śu. 4, Sunday = A.D. 1544, January 16, Friday (and not Sunday) and gives his name as Pāṇḍya-prithvīpati and Pāṇḍyappaḍeya. He is described as belonging to the Lunar race (Sōma-kula) and to the family of Jinadatta. He was the son of Chandalāmbā, the sister (patta-bhaginī) of Bhairavarāja (i.e. Bhaira V or Immaḍi Bhairarasa). The inscription records that Pāṇḍyappaḍeya had the Chaturmukha-basti built in the Pāṇḍya-nagari which formed a part of the capital city of Kārkāḷa.

In March, A.D. 1543 Pāṇḍyappaḍeya and the Chauṭa chieftain entered into a political agreement. The two copper plate records³⁴⁹ from Kārkāḷa, which register this agreement,

³⁴⁷ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kp.47.

³⁴⁸ SII., Vol. VII, No. 248.

³⁴⁹ ARSIE., 1921-22, App. A, Nos. 4 and 5.

state that Pāṇḍyappoḍeya, son of Chandalādēvi and ruler of Keravase, and Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa agreed, in the presence of Māraṁma-heggade of Yermāl, to help each other, the former with his men and horses and the latter with his men alone, in case any of their territories should be invaded by a third ruler or by a dandānāvaka; that they will not enter into unilateral agreements with a third party; and that they will extradite any criminal who should commit the crime in one principality and should escape to the other.

We have pointed out above that Pāṇḍyappoḍeya is referred to as early as in October, A.D. 1537 in an inscription from Vēpūr. His latest record,³⁵⁰ from Kaḷasa, is dated Śaka 1478, Rākshasa, Āsvijā śu. 13, Saturday = A.D. 1555, September 28, and names Pāṇḍyappoḍeya's kingdom as Keravaseya-paṭṭa. He is also given the appellation Immaḍi. One Bhayirarasa-anna, son of Bommarājarasa is stated to be administering Kaḷasa-sīma. It is not known if Pāṇḍyappa-Oḍeya was still on the throne in A.D. 1565 or whether he had been succeeded by his nephew. The next time we hear of a Kaḷasa-Kārkala ruler is only in October, A.D. 1579, when, according to an inscription³⁵¹ from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, Bhairavarasa-Oḍeya was ruling over the Kaḷasa-Kārkala kingdom. He may have been the nephew and direct successor of Pāṇḍyappoḍeya. According to two inscriptions, one from Hiriyāṅgaḍi³⁵² and belonging

350 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 60.

351 SII., Vol. VII, No. 243.

352 Ibid., No. 244.

to A.D. 1593 and the other from Koppa³⁵³ Koppa Taluk, Chikmagalur District and belonging to A.D. 1598, Pāṇḍyappaḍeya, nephew of Bhairarasa-Oḍeya was on the Kaḷasa-Kārkala throne. But the history of this family subsequent to A.D. 1565 is beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice it to say that, according to Buchanan³⁵⁴, the Kaḷasa-Kārkala family was overthrown by the Keḷadi rulers. It is, however, certain that the reduction of this power was not achieved by the Keḷadi house in one attempt. For, the Keḷadi-nripa-vijaya says³⁵⁵ that the Keḷadi ruler Doḍḍa-Saṅkappa-nāyaka (A.D. 1566-71) defeated in battle the scheming ruler of Kārkala, Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, and extracted tributes from him. Again, according to the same work,³⁵⁶ Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka I (A.D. 1586-1629) defeated Bhairarasa-Oḍeya and annexed into his own kingdom the Kaḷasa-Kārkala principality, including Koppa, Bellare, Kārkala and Kaḷasa. Bhairarasa-Oḍeya being a common dynastic name for the rulers of this family, the proper names of the Kaḷasa-Kārkala rulers defeated by Doḍḍa-Saṅkappa and Veṅkaṭappanāyaka are not known from any source. In view of the known dates of Veṅkaṭappanāyaka, his victim may have been Pāṇḍyappaḍeya of the Hiriyāṅgaḍi and Koppa inscriptions who is

353 Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kp. 50.

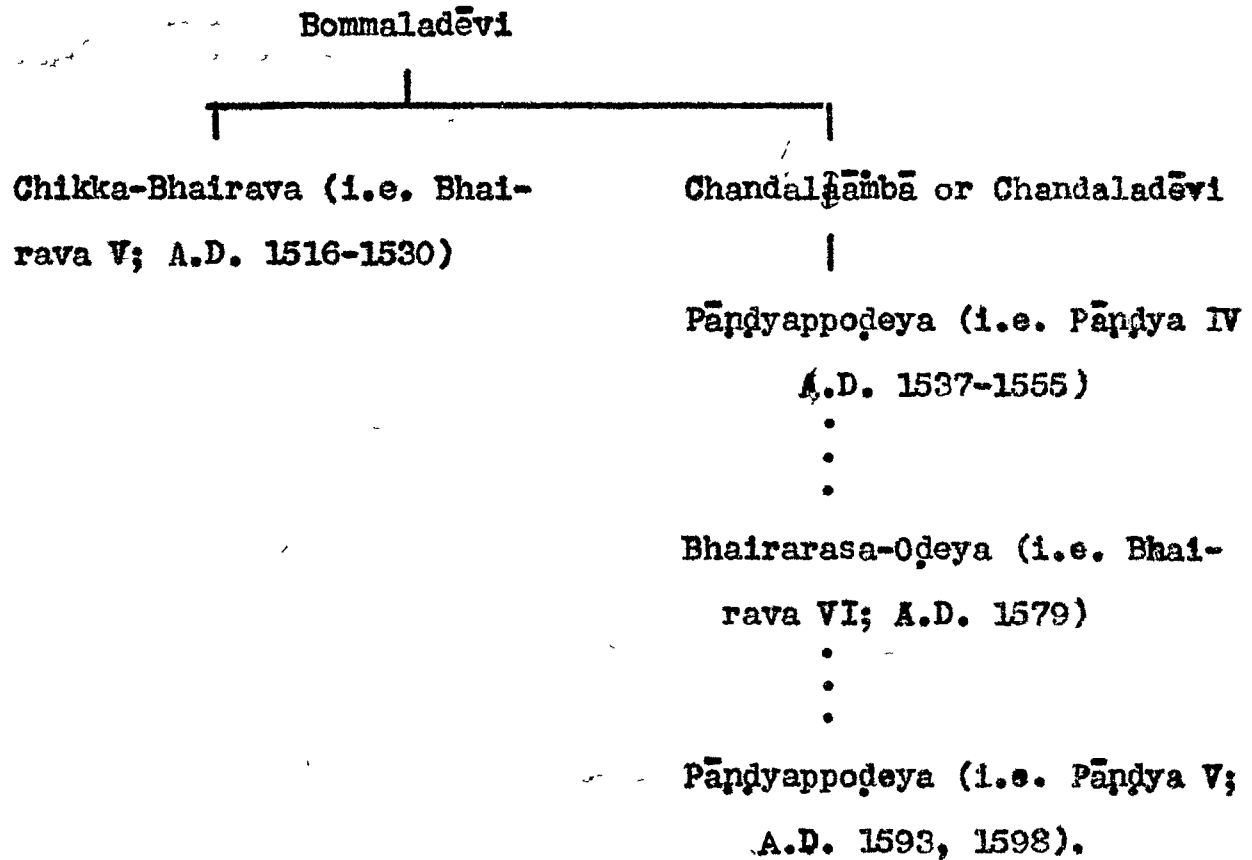
354 Buchanan's Southern India, Vol. III, p. 82.

355 Keḷadi-nripa-vijaya, III āśvāsa, 89.

356 Ibid., V āśvāsa, 46.

the last known Kaḷasa-Kārkala ruler and whose known dates fall in A.D. 1593 and 1598. The power of the Bhairarasa-Oḍeyas did not end even with this defeat and they continued to contest the authority of the Keḷadi rulers even afterwards.

The genalogical tree given earlier in this chapter stops with Chikka Bhairava or Bhairava V. The rest of the genealogy is tabulated hereunder:



Before closing this chapter, the further history of those ruling houses of South Kanara which have been dealt with above

but whose inscriptions falling within the reign periods of Achyutarāya and Sadāsivarāya have not been found in South Kanara, needs to be given.

In the last passage dealing with the history of the Nagire ruling family, it was stated above that Dēvarāya-Oḍeya whose latest known date fell in A.D. 1494 was succeeded by his nephew Bhairarasa-Oḍeya whose earliest known date fell in A.D. 1512. Bhairarasa in his turn was succeeded by Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya who, after the brief period of independence enjoyed by his predecessors, had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Krishṇadēvarāya. Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya was on the throne as early as in A.D. 1516 in which year he is stated, in an inscription ³⁵⁸ from Bastimakki, Bhatkal Taluk, to be ruling over the Nagire, Haive, Tulu and Koṅkapa rājyas. Reference has already been made to Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya's invasion of ³⁵⁹ Portuguese Goa in A.D. 1522. We learn from an inscription from Kaikini dated Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Mēsha, Vaisākha ba. 10, Friday = A.D. 1530, April 22, that this ruler also had the name of Immaḍi-Sāluva-Krishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya. The battle which this Nagire chief fought against the invading forces of the then Hāduvaḷḷi chief Gururṣāya-Oḍeya has already been discussed.

358 Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol. III¹, part I, No.9.

359 Ibid., No. 8.

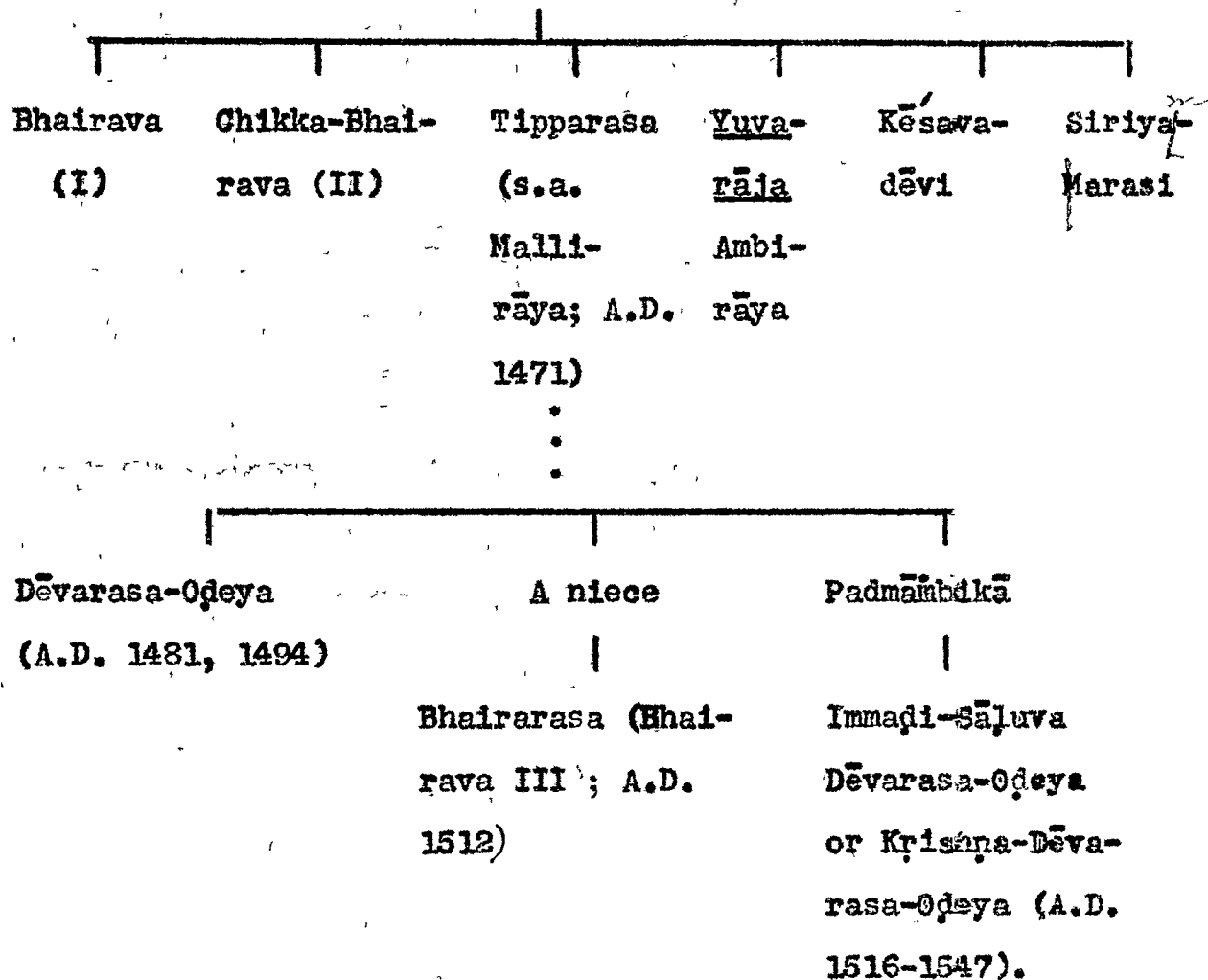
Immaḍi Krishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya appears to have been a half-brother of his predecessor Bhairarasa and, therefore, a younger nephew of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya. For, an inscription³⁶⁰ from Bastimakki, Bhatkal Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1538, suggests that he was the son of Padmāmbikā, the sister of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya and Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya who are stated therein to be the descendants of Māvarasa. It will be seen from the genealogical tree of this family given earlier in this chapter that Māvarasa, also known as Maṅga, was one of the early members of this family. Dēvarāya-Oḍeya one of the brothers of Padmāmbikā, is to be identified with his namesake, the predecessor of Bhairarasa. The other brother, Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya did not rule. The name of Bhairarasa himself may have been omitted because he was the son of a sister of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya other than Padmāmbikā. The latest known³⁶¹ inscription of Krishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, found in Māvalli, Bhatkal Taluk and belonging to May, A.D. 1547, states that he was ruling over the Nagire, Haiva, Tulu and Koṅkana rājyas from his capital at Geresoppa in the Tulu country.

Epigraphical evidence on the history of this family stops with the Māvalli inscription of A.D. 1547 referred to just now. It is reasonable to presume that, like the other Jaina ruling houses of the region, the Nagire family too was reduced to a position of unimportance by the Keladi-rulers. Keladi Venkatappa-nāyaka is actually credited with the conquest

and annexation of Gerasoppa, the capital of the Nagire prin-
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cipality. The genealogical tree given earlier in this chapter
for this family stopped with Bhairava (I), Chikka Bhairava (II)
and Yuvarāja Ambirāja. The rest of the genealogical tree is
given below:

Lakshmiṃmatī

(married to Tāyapparasa of Tīluvaḷḷi)



The Chautā rulers of the region around Puttige make their appearance in inscriptions for the first time, as



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shown above, in A.D. 1390. Tuluvarasa-Chauṭa's successor Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa figures in the Karkala copper plates of A.D. 1543 which register his compact with his Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa contemporary Pāṇḍyappodeya. The names of the Chauṭa chieftains as also their dates known from available inscriptions are given below:

Vikra-Chauṭa (A.D. 1390)

.

Sāṇtheya-Chauṭa (A.D. 1431)

.

Jōgi-Oḍeya-Chauṭa (A.D. 1434)

.

Allappasēkhara-Chauṭa (A.D. 1465)

.

Tirumalarāya-Chauṭa (A.D. 1508, 1512)

.

Tuluvarasa-Chauṭa (A.D. 1528)

.

Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa (A.D. 1543)

.

Chikkarājarasa-Chauṭa (A.D. 1578)

The last named of these rulers, Chikkrājarasa-Chauṭa, finds mention in two records, ~~the~~ belonging to November, A.D. 1578, from Beṭṭakēri, Karkala Taluk. Buchanan re-
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cords that at a time of dissension between the Kaḷasa-Kār-

kaḷa and Chauta rulers, the Keḷadi ruler entered the fray and annexed their territories in the name of the defunct Vijayanagara empire. This implies that the compact signed by these two ruling families in A.D. 1543 was no longer in effect. The Keḷadi-nṛipa-Vijaya, however, merely mentions the Chautas as one among the many local ruling houses of the Maṅgaḷūru region defeated by Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka.

Among the other minor families of Tuluva which have made their appearance earlier in this work and which were defeated by Keḷadi Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka, was the Toḷaha family of Surāḷa which finds mentions as early as in A.D. 1139 in the Bāraḷūru inscription of Kavi Āḷupēndra but whose records make frequent appearance only after A.D. 1565. For the period before A.D. 1565, inscriptions of the other minor families of South Kanara, like those of the Ajilas, Nāḷinas, Sāmantas, and the heggades have been few and far between.

The actual history of South Kanara as a part of the Vijayanagara empire came to an end in A.D. 1565 with the disastrous battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi, already referred to. In subsequent years, the erstwhile Āḷupa kingdom became a part of the Keḷadi kingdom and the allegiance of the Keḷadi rulers to the loosely-knit empire, which sprang from out of the ruins of the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi, was only nominal. The history of the Keḷadi dynasty after Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi falls outside the scope of this thesis.

It may, however, be pointed out, in conclusion, that the inscriptions of the post-1565 period from South Kanara do not contain much information for the political history of the region. Most of them are in the nature of records registering grants by private individuals and a few refer themselves to the reigns of local rulers. Even the few available Vijayanagara records of the period do not help us in knowing the extent of the weakened empire's power over the Tulu country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATION¹

The early inscriptions of South Kanara do not contain much information regarding the administrative set up of the region under the early Ālupas. Naturally enough and as every where else, the king was at the top of the administrative hierarchy and wielded supreme powers within his kingdom. The absolute independence which the early Ālupas enjoyed in their sway over the South Kanara region is clearly borne out by the fact that while inscriptions outside South Kanara which mention them refer to them as the feudatories of one or another imperial ruler, not one of their inscriptions found within the Tulu country ever ascribes them a subordinate title or epithet, let alone refer to a suzerain power over them. As a matter of fact, as has been pointed out in the earlier chapters, none of the Ālupa inscriptions found in South Kanara, throughout the dynasty's long rule over that territory from at least the middle of the seventh to the end of the fourteenth century, betrays a status of subordination for the Ālupas. The importance and sanctity attached by the

1 Accounts of administrative, social, economic and religious conditions, given in this thesis, are restricted to the material contained in the local inscriptions and are to be taken as supplements to the well-known writings of earlier scholars like Saletore, who have devoted sufficient space to such matters.

early Ālupas to the formalities of coronation are revealed by the Udiyāvara inscription² of Prithvisāgara which states that he had himself formally crowned (pattam-gattisi) before fighting to capture the throne at Udayapura.

The inscriptions of the Ālupas do not, even once, mention the name of the kingdom as Āluva-khēḍa though, as pointed out earlier, the region is referred to as Āluka and Āluva-khēḍa-6000 in certain records from adjacent territories. We have shown above that the Bārakūru inscriptions³ of Baṅki-dēva I (C. A.D. 1020-50) give the name of the kingdom as Tulu-vishaya.

During the period of the early Ālupas, their kingdom was primarily divided into divisions called nāḍu. Each nāḍu was placed in charge of an officer whose functions were expressed in the phrase nāṭṭu-mudime keyve which is best translated into English as 'headmanship over the nāḍu'.⁴ The Vaḍḍarśe⁵ inscription of Āluvarasa I (c. A.D. 650-680) refers to the nāṭṭu-mudime of Guṇḍaṇṇarasa. Further down in the same record

2 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, pp. 19-20, No. IV and plate.

3 SIL., Vol.VII, Nos.327 and 328.

4 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, p. 21, footnote 3.

5 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 296.

is mentioned Pāḍuvaliya-nāḍu which was, probably, the same as the nāḍu under Guṇḍaṇṇarasa's headmanship. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the name Pāḍuvaliya-nāḍu reminds us of Hāḍuvaliya-rājya, comprising parts of the North and South Kanara Districts, which came under the sway of a minor family of Jaina chieftains during Vijayanagara times. However, Pāḍuvaliya-nāḍu was the region around Vaḍḍarse in the Udipi Taluk while Hāḍuvaliya-rājya was much to its north and comprised portions of the Coondapur Taluk and North Kanara District.

6

The Kigga inscription⁶ of Āḷuvarasa I refers to Kunda-varmarasa's nāṭṭu-mudime, the nāḍu in this case obviously standing for the region around Kigga, the findspot of the inscription. The Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Prithvisāgara⁷ (c. A.D. 810-40) and Māramma⁸ (C. A.D. 840-70) speak of similar offices held, during their reigns, by Bōygavarma and Arakella respectively. The nāḍu of these records was apparently represented by the region around Udiyāvāra itself.

The Vaḍḍarse inscription leads us to the belief that the nāḍu was further split into smaller divisions. The inscription, after referring to Guṇḍaṇṇarasa's nāṭṭu-mudime, states that Sattigāri was holding the mudime of Banna or Banne.

6 Ep.Carn., Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

7 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

8 Ibid., p. 23, No. VIII and plate.

It may be gathered from this that Satigāri was an officer under Guṇḍanparasa and that Banna or Baṇne was a subdivision of Pāduvaḷiya-nāḍu.

Surprisingly enough the offices of nāṭṭu-mudime and mudime cease to occur in inscriptions after the reign of Māramma. Inscriptions assignable to this period are so scarce that it is difficult to explain away this development. It may, however, be suggested that, during this period, the office of nāṭṭu-mudime was replaced by the establishment of minor feudatory principalities. This suggestion gains support from the Banṭra inscription⁹ of the time of Māramma which refers to Nṛipamallārāja, Viḷarittaliyarasa and a ruler of the Katambha-vaṁśa. These appear to have been minor chieftains ruling over tiny principalities within the Ālupa kingdom. Again, the Bārakūru inscriptions of Baṅkidēva I, referred to above, claim for the ruler suzerainty over 120 maṇḍalikas and mahāmaṇḍalikas. This may be safely interpreted to mean that a number of minor chieftains in South Kanara were serving as the subordinates of Baṅkidēva I.

During the period of the early Ālupas, populous townships were designated nagara or nakara, pura and paṭṭana. The capital city itself is mentioned as Udeyapura-nagara or Udeyapura-nakara. Koḷala-nakara, which is the same as Koḷala-giri, was another city. The city of Mangalore is referred to as¹⁰ Maṅgalapura-mahānagara in the Vēlvikkudi copper-plate grant

9 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 351.

10 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 301 and plate.

of Pāṇḍya Neṇṇjaḍaiyan and as Maṅgalapura in the Mārutūru¹¹ grant of Vikramāditya I. Some of the early Ālupa inscriptions refer to the padinentu-pattana. This name, when judged with reference to the context in which it occurs in one of the¹² Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Māramma discussed in Chapter III, appears to refer to administrative bodies belonging to eighteen (padinentu) cities. The cities were placed under the administration of officers who appear to have had the designation of nāyaka.¹³ One of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Prithvisāgara refers to Udayapura-nāyaga i.e. the nāyaka of Udayapura, the¹⁴ capital city of the Ālupas. Another inscription from the same place and belonging to the reign of Māramma refers to one Kara-sī-nāyaga (= nāyaka) as the administrator of Koḷalanakara.

Very little is revealed by available inscriptions of the early Ālupas on how the rural areas of the kingdom were¹⁵ administered in their days. The Kigga inscription of Chitra-vāhana I, discussed in Chapter III above, refers to one Nāgap-na as the adhikāri of Kiḷḷa. The Bantra inscription, also discussed in Chapter III, refers to some of the witnesses to the agreement as perggadegalu. From the context in which they occur in the records, it may be concluded that adhikāri and perggade were designations of village officials.

11 Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological series, No.6, p.37 and plate.

12 This inscription has not so far been noticed. The text is furnished in the appendix below.

13 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, p. 21, No.VI and plate.

14 SII., Vol.VII, No. 283.

15 Ep.Carn., Vol.VI, Kp.37.

The Ban̐tra inscription provides interesting testimony to the role played by common men in the administrative field. While recording^a compact of peace and friendship between local chieftains, it mentions the physician of Sādanūr, (Sādanūrā marudagal), those who arrange for service like playing instrumental music in the temple (vōlagada-pāliyavarū), and a number of other individuals as witnesses.

The military administration of the early Ālupas finds no elucidation in their inscriptions. Being a small territory, the king personally led his forces in the combats. The contents of all the hero-stones of the early Ālupa period imply that the battles ensued when the armies were led in person by the contending prince in order to gain his entry into the capital city. The inscriptions make no reference whatever to the designation of the leaders of the armies other than the king. The common soldier was known merely as ālu or as bhata. The early Ālupa rulers were quick to recognise and reward meritorious service rendered by their soldiers on the battle fields. While a number of hero-stones record the valiant death of those who fought and fell for one or the other rival prince, a few record the compensation awarded in the memory of the deceased hero by his grateful master. Rapasāgara's Udiyāvāra inscription,¹⁶ which mentions his battle against Maygēsa, actually uses the word pariyara (= Skt. parihāra, compensation) in describing the nature of such a grant.

Though epigraphical information on their military ad-

ministration is scanty, the early Ālupas must have had ample opportunities to develop the art of warfare to a high degree. The eulogy showered upon the military skills of Chitravāhana I¹⁷ by the Shiggaon plates of Vijayāditya, discussed in Chapter III, and the prolonged period of civil war in which the Ālupas found themselves in the eighth and ninth centuries bear witness to this view. Chitravāhana II could not have given moments of anxiety to the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa forces at Peruggūṇṇi, as averred by the Māvaḷi inscription¹⁸ of Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III, before being defeated and beaten back, unless the Ālupas had developed a high degree of military administration.

References in early Ālupa inscriptions to the military strategies adopted by the contending forces are few and far between. Nor do elephants, horses and chariots find frequent references. The lone instance in which the chariot is mentioned with reference to the Tulu country is found in the Vēlvikkudi copper plate grant of Neḍuṇṇaiyaṇ which claims for the Pāṇḍya invader victory over the great charioteers (mahārathar) at Maṅgaḷapura. During the earlier but uncertain

17 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 322 and plate. The epithets sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāprabhāva and sva-karatala-~~vidhrita~~ vidhrita-nisita-nistriṃsa-saṃghāta-vitrasta-viśīryamān-ānēka-ripu-nripati-matta-mātāṅga-saṃghāta applied to Chitravāhana I by these plates attest to his great skill as a warrior.

18 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

period of Tuluva history, great armies of charioteers from Tulu-nādu reduced, according to the poets of the Saṅgam age, the very heights of the Western Ghats on their way to subdue the recalcitrant chieftain of Mōgūr.¹⁹ So also an indication for the employment of steeds in battles is to be found in the description of a soldier, in the Udiyāvara inscription of Raṇasāgara and Maygēśa, as ērāli i.e., one who is an expert in mounting and riding (horses). Again the Māvaḷi stone inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III refers to the great tussle that ensued in the battle of Pergguṇji between the imperial cavalry and the cavaliers of Ālupa Chitravāhana II. The army of foot-soldiers is named in one of the Udiyāvara herostones as padati.

The strategy of arranging the armies for battles had reached much perfection under the early Ālupas. The Māvaḷi inscription, referred to above, refers to the right and left wings of the Ālupa forces. One of the Udiyāvara hero-stones praises the deceased hero as an expert in breaking the Chakra-vyūha (sāhasad-ari-Chakra-vyūhaman-odevon).²⁰ Among the arms used in warfare, the arrow (aṁbu), sword (vāl, nistrimśa) and palage (shield) find mention in the early inscriptions.

Citizens of various professions and pursuits organis-

19 Aganānuru, Agams 251 and 281

20 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 17-18, No. I and plate.

ing themselves into representative groups, a common feature in the Tulu country from the time of the Medieval Ālupas, had made a beginning even during the period of the early Ālupas. The guild known as the padinentu-pattana has been referred to above. Being a predominantly agricultural territory, the tillers formed themselves into organisations from early times. The Udiyāvāra inscription²¹ of Āluvarasa II refers to the guild of seventy tenancies of Udayapura (Udayapura-nakarada elpatt-okkalu) and to the Thousand of Sivāli (Sivāliya sāsirbbbar).

Land was owned by the crown as well as by the citizens. The reference to Āḍakappa who was holding the right of cultivation over the fields at Voḍḍarse, in the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āluvarasa I, immediately after mentioning administrative officers, leads us to believe that the fields in question were crown lands.

Naturally enough, taxes on land and water were the main sources of income for the royal treasury. Big townships like Udayapura, Koḷala-nagara and Pombuchcha also yielded revenues. The taxes on land and water are referred to as jala-dulam sthaladulam sunka (i.e. taxes on water and land) in one Udiyāvāra inscription²² of Māramma. The early inscriptions show that agricultural products were subject to taxation. By taxes on water is apparently meant tolls collected from marine and river trades.

21 SII., Vol.VII, No. 279.

22 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, p. 21, No.VI and plate.



Regarding administration of justice under the early Ālupas, their inscriptions provide no information. The Kigga inscription of Āluvarasa I, referred to above, merely refers to dēva-danḍa (divine retribution) and rāja-danḍa (punishment by the ruler) in its imprecatory passages.

Information regarding administrative practices is found in greater detail in the inscriptions of the medieval and later Ālupas. While all the records of the early Ālupas refer to their reigns merely as rājya,²³ the inscriptions of the medieval and later Ālupas also use the more familiar terms of vijaya-rājya and ekachchhatrādhirājya. With the exception of Āluvarasa I, Chitravāhana I and Māramma, the early Ālupas received no other titles and epithets except the honorific śrī and śrīmatu. Āluvarasa I receives the title of Mahārāja in the Mārūtūru grant, referred to above, while Chitravāhana I receives the same title in the Sorab grant²⁴ of Chālukya Vinayāditya discussed in Chapter III. Māramma is ascribed in his inscriptions the sovereign epithet of paramēśvara and the rather unusual title of Adhirājarāja. The medieval and later Ālupas, on the other hand, were distinguished

23 The only exceptions to this statement are found in one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions and in the Bantra inscriptions, both discussed in Chapter III, wherein the word prithvī-rājya is applied to the reign of Māramma and of the unnamed Katambha ruler respectively.

24 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIX, pp. 146 ff.

by a string of sovereign titles and epithets including the imperial ones of Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhāṭṭāraka. The lofty title of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī became, with the medieval and later Ālupas, a dynastic distinction.

Like the early inscriptions, the records of the Medieval and Later Ālupas also do not delineate the functions of a king. These inscriptions, registering grants made or agreements entered into, almost invariably state that the ruler was personally present in the audience hall, along with his officials at the time the transactions were registered. At the head of the official hierarchy were the ministers who were known as pradhāna. The council of ministers present in the audience hall was referred to as samasta- (or sakala-) pradhānaru. It is not known if the number of ministers was fixed by convention or was left to be decided by the ruler concerned though the Kachchūru inscription²⁵ of Ballamahādēvi, belonging to A.D. 1288, refers to the council of ministers as pañcha-pradhānru i.e. five ministers. The designation mahāpradhāna, which was apparently applied to the chief of the council of ministers, also finds mention in a few medieval and later records of the Ālupas.

Another set of officials who were present in the royal audience hall are referred to as dēśi-purusharu. Dēśi means 'guiding', 'instructing' and dēśika means 'spiritual teacher'. Thus dēśi-purusharu of these inscriptions may be taken to mean spiritual personages who guided the rulers in matters of administra-

tion. The conventional seventy two departments of the ^a place house-hold also make their appearance in these inscriptions as the bāhattara-niyōgas. Among the others who are stated as present during royal audiences are the court-priests (purōhitaru) and sages (ṛishiyaru).

Besides these officials, princes and princesses of the royal family took active part in the administration of the kingdom. During the latter years of the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva-Ālupēndra (A.D. 1250-75), his queen Ballamahādēvi, who later herself reigned as queen (A.D. 1275-92), is stated to be present in the audience hall along with the king and his officials. Prince (Kumāra) Udayādityarasa is mentioned in the Udiyāvāra inscription ²⁶ of A.D. 1114-15 of Kavi-Ālupēndra. The Kōṭakēri inscription ²⁷ of A.D. 1155 and the damaged Kadiri inscription, ²⁸ both of the same ruler, refer to Pāṇḍyamahādēvi's rule over the village of Pannirppallī. Kulasēkhara I (A.D. 1160-1220) is stated, in his Mangalore inscription ²⁹ of A.D. 1204, to have entrusted the administration of Mugaru-nāḍu to his nephew (aliva) Baṅkidēva. In A.D. 1254, when Vīrapāṇḍyadēva-Ālupēndra was reigning, and again in A.D. 1281, when his queen Ballamahādēvi was on the Ālupa

26 SII., Vol. VII, No. 290.

27 Ibid., No. 376.

28 Being noticed in ARIE., 1964-65, App.B.

29 SII., Vol.VII, No. 185.

throne, the former's nephew aliya Baṅkidēva, who later himself reigned from A.D. 1285 to 1315, was present, along with the council of ministers, in the royal audience hall.

Among the officials of lesser status than those who figure in the records as attending the ruler's court were the adhikāri (or atikāri), odeya, grāmaṇi, sēnabōva, ūrāluva, heggade, hadapa, sṛīkarana, sāhaṇi and bēhāri. The respective functions of these officers are only rarely referred to in the available inscriptions.

Of these, the adhikāri (or atikāri) was the administrator of the kingdom's divisions known as nādu. One Lokkiyaḍaha was serving as the adhikāri of Bayidūranāḍu in A.D. 1324 under Soyidēva (A.D. 1315-1335). The records reveal that the term adhikāri (atikāri) had come to be used as a surname by those who held the rank and office. The adhikāris are also mentioned with reference to the collection of taxes and as village administrators.

The head of a village appears to have borne the designation of odeya. The odeya of Puttigeya-grāma is mentioned in an inscription³⁰ of A.D. 1267 from Puttige, Udipi Taluk. A³¹ Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1315 refers to the odeyas of

30 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 500

31 SII., Vol.VII, No. 354.

the Aidūru and other villages.

The functions of the grāmaṇi³² do not find elucidiation in any of the available records. As the very designation suggests, the grāmaṇi was concerned with village administration. Along with the king (arasu) and minister (pradhāna), the grāmaṇi figures in a number of inscriptions as the protector of the grants made in his village.

The sēnabōva, from the contexts in which this office is mentioned, may be interpreted as the village clerk. Many records end with the statement that they were written by the sēnabōva. The Mangalore inscription of Kulasēkhara I of A.D. 1204, referred to above, lays down that the sēnabōva should maintain a written record on the daily services in the temple of Baṅkēsvara. The administration of a grant made by the king was, in some cases, entrusted to the care of the sēnabōva. Like the designation adhikāri, the term sēnabōva also appears frequently in inscriptions in the position of a surname.

The office of Ūrāluva (ūr=village: āl=administor) stands for the administrator or ruler of a given village. The word itself is of rare occurrence in the inscriptions of the Ālupas.

32 The office of grāmaṇi is of much antiquity and was of importance during the Vedic period. See The Vedic Age, p. 431.

The office of heggade was the counterpart of the earlier office of mudime i.e. village headmanship. The exact significance of the term is brought home by such usages as Bilivūra heggade found in medieval inscriptions. It is also found written as verggade and had come to be taken as a surname.

Haḍapa designated the servant who prepared and furnished betel leaves with their ingredients. The term haḍapa also means a barber. (This is modern)

The śrīkarana was the royal scribe who wrote down official records and maintained them. This is amply illustrated by the Kōṭēsvara inscription³³ of A.D. 1261 of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadeva-Ālupēndra which states that it was written by śrīkaranada Māchaliya-sēnabōva.

Sāhani (= Sanskrit: Sāghanika) stands for the tender of war horses. We have seen above that the damaged Uḍiyāvara inscription³⁴ of Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Rāya-Sāntaradēva of A.D. 1058 refers to the daṇḍa-sāhani i.e. an officer who tends war-horses. Later inscriptions repeat the word sāhani many times but mostly as a surname.

Bēhāri is the Kannada form for Sanskrit vyavahārin=trader or merchant. As it is, the term bēhāri may have designated officers who looked after the interests of the ruling house in matters of trade.

33 SII., Vol. IX, part I, No. 395.

34 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 278.

The kingdom was divided into divisions called, as in earlier times, the nādu. The region around Baindūr in Coondapua Taluk, was known as Bayindūra-nādu. Mugarunādu was another division around Maṅgalūru. Besides, small regions were under the administration of feudatory rulers. One such was Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sēvyagellarasa who was ruling over two tracts called Pūṁjaḷke and Chālūḷke (comprising portions of the Karkala and Mangalore Taluks respectively) in A.D. 1113-19 when Kavi-Āḷupa was on the throne.

Guilds and associations find frequent references in the inscriptions of this period. In some records the whole village (ūravaru, grāma), in which the grant registered therein was made, is stated to be a party to the grant. Inscriptions which record the amount of tax assessed against a given village declare that the order was passed for the whole village (ūravarige or grāmadavarige kotta sāsana). So also, some inscriptions declare that the grant recorded was to be protected, among others, by the whole village.

Villages had the advantage of representative bodies in the field of administration. We have already noticed the 1000 of Śivalḷi (Śivalḷiva-sāsirevaru) figuring in the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II. The inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas refer to the 'thousand' of Hāndaḍi and Kōṭa, the 'three hundred' of Nīruvāra and Kuḍikūru and the 'one hundred and two' of Brahmavura and Śivapura. The mahājanas of Brahmavura, referred to in the Brahmāvara inscription of A.D. 1254

of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva-Ālupēndra, appear to be the same as the 'One hundred and two' of Brahnavura. The basis and principles on which these bodies were formed are not known from the available inscriptions of South Kanara. They appear as donors, donees, protectors of grants and as assessors of taxes to be paid by their villages.

Populous trade-centres like Bārakūru, Basarūru and Mūḍa-bidure had their trade or merchant guilds called nakhara (or nagara, nakara, samasta-nakhara, nagara-samūrha etc.), setṭikāra and the hañjamāna, also referred to as the nakhara-hañjamāna. Of these, nakhara, which is to be derived from Sanskrit nagara, is to be understood in the sense of 'merchant community' or 'guild of merchants' or 'a mercantile town'. The word nagara also occurs in these senses in Tamil inscriptions.³⁶

Setṭikāra also stands for the same term as given above and the name is derived from the word setṭi meaning a merchant or trader. Though the exact differences which marked the two groups of nakhara and setṭikāra are not known, in view of the explanation of hañjamāna, offered below, it may be suggested here that while setṭikāra appears to have been the association of merchants who dealt in indigenous commodities, the nakhara was the guild of merchants who were concerned with overseas trade.

36 T.N. Subramaniam: South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol.III, part II, Glossary, p. xli.

The origin of hañjamāna has been convincingly traced to the Avestic hañjamana and Persian anjuman and taken to mean the settlement of the Parsees.³⁷ Dr. D.C. Sircar, the eminent epigraphist and historian, however, feels that there is little possibility of the reference to hañjamāna in South Kanara inscriptions being to Parsee settlements in that district and that, therefore, hañjamāna should be understood in the sense of pañcha-vanna of the lexicons, the same as Tamil Añjuvannam (Sanskrit Pañcha-varna) meaning the five artisan classes viz., the goldsmiths, black-smiths, brasiers, carpenters and stone-masons.³⁸ This fivefold expansion, which holds good for Añjuvannam, is not found so explained in any available record for the term hañjamāna. On the other hand, the Avestic and Persian origin for hañjamāna stands vindicated by the fact that "the Arabian Sea, a vast expanse separating the two peninsulas of India and Arabia and bounded on the north by the barren coast-line of Persia, is one of the vital seas of the world. As a result of the seasonal monsoon it has been for at least 3000 years a great highway of commerce and intercourse. The Indians and the Phoenicians, the Arabs - in fact all the sea-faring nations of the East - have considered this to be the chief area of Navigation".³⁹

"The excavations at Arikamedu have clearly proved that the people of the south were in close commercial relations with the Mediterranean people, that long before the time

37 Ind. Ant., Vol.XLI, pp.173-76

38 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXV, part VI, pp.

39 K.M. Panikkar: Geographical Factors in Indian History, p.59.

of the Romans their ships had sailed up to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, that intimate commercial and cultural contacts existed between them and the people of Western Asia and Egypt".⁴⁰

The above historical facts suggest the possibility of Arabic and Persian merchant settlements in the coastal kingdom of the Ālupas. It is significant that during the Vijayanagara period, when the empire had to import, of necessity, war horses from Arabia and such other lands, the inscriptions of South Kanara make frequent references to the hañjamāna and nakhara-hañjamāna guilds. In this context, we may refer to the hañjamāna-mukhya (i.e. chief of the hañjamāna), by name Ummara-mara-⁴¹kkāla, who figures prominently in the Kaikīṇī inscription of A.D. 1427 of the reign of Dēvarāya I and his feudatory Saṅgi-rāya of Nagire as an adversary of the imperial governor Timmanpa-Oḍeya. Ummara is the same as Umar, a persian proper name and marakkāla means a sailor. This fact lends good support to the view that hañjamāna was the guild of Arabic and Persian merchants⁴² settled along the west coast. The nakharas in the Ālupa

40 Ibid., p. 28.

41 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol.I, No.48.

42 For further support, see Sheikh Zein-ud-Deen who, in his *Toh fut-ul-Majahideen*, p.5 (Translation by Lt. M.J. Rowlandson, London, 1883), says "A compnay of Moslems having emigrated to certain ports of Malabar, and subsequently there taken up their dwelling, the population by degrees became proselytes to the religion of God (Islam)". I owe this reference to Dr. G.S. Dikshit.

kingdom appear to have been of a religious bent as is shown by temples for Śiva built by them and hence named Nakharēśvara. One such temple was built in the important trade town of Easarūru.

The medieval and later Ālupa inscriptions contain frequent references to eradu-kōla-bali as present in the royal audience hall and the Pādebeṭṭu inscription⁴³ of A.D. 1324-25 of the reign of Vīra Sōyidēva-Ālupēndra refers to the halaru of hattu-kōla-bali. Kōlu means, among other things 'an arrow' and 'a kind of military exercise.'⁴⁴ Bali means, among other things, 'race', 'lineage', 'company' etc. kōla-bali may therefore be interpreted to mean the military division or companies. The prefixes eradu (two) and hattu (ten) may either stand for the number of regiments or denote the number of army leaders who formed themselves into a council and were present in the audience hall. The association of kōla-bala to a military organisation is further supported by expressions such as tamma samasta eradu-kōla-bali vīra-parivāra saḥavāgi daṇḍetti hōḍalli⁴⁵ occurring in some hero-stone inscriptions of the Nagire and Hāḍuvaḷḷi rulers.

43 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 374.

44 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.

45 See, for instance, Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol.I, Nos. 46, 47, Vol.III, part I, No. 8.

The medieval and later Ālupa inscriptions contain very little information of the administration of Justice. The imprecatory passages of many records of this period show that excommunication was one of the most widely prevalent modes of punishment. For the same crime, punishments differed in their severity and application in accordance with the caste to which the offender belonged. Thus, the Mangalore inscription⁴⁶ of A.D. 1204 of the reign of Kulasēkhara I, for instance, states that if a brāhmaṇa should choose to flout the grant registered therein, he will be expelled from the four castes (nālku-kātiyīm poragu; that if a setti (person belonging to the trading community) should commit the offence, he will be expelled from the merchant caste (sarvasya balanājadiṁ poragu); if the grant should be flouted by the agriculturists, they will pay a fine of 1000 honnu per head (voṅkalu-makkalu mādidade ondu tale sāvira honnu).

The administrative changes introduced by the Hoysaḷas are not reflected in their inscriptions from South Kanara. Ballāḷa III was represented at Bārakūru by his queen Chikkāyī-Tāyī who, in all probability, was an Ālupa princess. She was aided in administration by Vaijappa-dappāyaka, Ajjappa-sāhapi and Hariyappa-dappāyaka whose tenure in office is referred to in the inscriptions as their pradhānike. Indigenous organisations like the nakhara, nakhara-haṇjamāna and the settikāras were associated

with the Hoysala administration as in the case of the medieval and later Ālupas. Among village committees, the '14 of Niruvāra' are mentioned in the Nīlāvāra inscription⁴⁷ of A.D. 1333 of Vīra Ballāla III.

For the first time, the Hoysala inscriptions from South Kanara mention the setṭikāras in specific numbers, a feature which becomes more common in Vijayanagara inscriptions from the region. The 'three setṭikāras of mūrikēri', a quarters in Bārakūru as also the 'eight setṭis' of Bidure (i.e. Mūḍabidure) appear in the records of the Hoysala period.

From the inscriptions of the Hoysalas, we also come to know of a few organisations which find no mention in the available records of the earlier periods. One such is the nāḍu which apparently stands for an administrative body of representatives drawn from a given district. The Hiriyāṅgaḍi inscription⁴⁸ of A.D. 1334 of Lōkanāthadēva, the feudatory of Ballāla III, refers to the nāḍu and nakara of Kārakaḷa while the Mūḍabidure inscription⁴⁹ of A.D. 1342 of Ballāla III refers to the nāḍu and nakara of Bidureyanagara. The same record also mentions the halaru of Kārakaḷa and the Ubhaya-nānādēśigalu. Of these halaru which means 'the many' served as the common word for

47 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 492.

48 SII., Vol.VII, No. 247.

49 Ibid., No. 213.

any 'association'. We had seen above reference to the halaru of the hattu-kōla bali. The halaru guild may be generally considered to have been made up of persons belonging to different professions. An inscription from Basarūru,⁵⁰ of A.D. 1433, for example, refers to one Duganaseṭṭi as the hūvinakāra (i.e. cultivator and seller of flowers) belonging to the halaru guild of mūrukēri, a quarters of Basarūru.

"The nānādēśis . . . were powerful autonomous corporations of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries"⁵¹. As the very name implies, they conducted trade activities in all countries. The prefix Ubhaya may be understood in the normal sense of two, the inscriptions, in all probability, referring to two nānādēśi⁵² guilds. It has been suggested elsewhere that Ubhaya is to be taken as denoting local (svādēśi) and foreign (para-dēśi) merchant communities.

The Mūdabidure inscription mentioned above refers to sālikeya aruvaru ballālugaḷu and aivaru horahinavaru. Sālike,⁵³ according to Kittel, means 'business in a room or shop'. The

50 Ibid., Vol.IX, part II, No. 444.

51 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Colas, p. 537.

52 Hyderabad Archaeological series, No. 13, Glossary, p. 211.

53 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.

interpretation of ballālugaḷu with reference to sālike is difficult to make. The term ballālu actually means 'a man who is able, skilled, erudite' or 'a man who knows'.⁵³ We have seen in Chapter VI that the Sujēru inscription⁵⁴ of A.D. 1528, while recording a compact between Tuluvarasa-Chauṭa and Vīra Narasiṃha Baṅga, prohibits the capture by either of the parties of the ballālugaḷu belonging to the other. In view of this it may be suggested here that sālikeya ballālugaḷu, mentioned as six in number, were members of a guild of businessmen, who were considered as citizens of importance.

The reference to the five horahinavarū must be read with reference to sālike (i.e. as sālikeya aivarū horahinavarū). Horahinavarū means outsiders and from the context of their reference, it may be understood that they were connected with sālike but hailed from outside Tuluva. It may be that they secured, for the ballālu traders, commodities from outside the Tulu country.

Ballāḷa III's inscription of A.D. 1336, from Mūdakēri in Bārakūru, mentions the nūra-aivattu (= 150) elame while his Mūdabidure inscription of A.D. 1342, mentioned above, refers to nālvarū (= 4) elamegaḷu. Elame finds frequent reference in Vijayanagara

53 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.

54 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.

records from South Kanara and is more often than not associated with the number 150. Kittel⁵⁵ equates elagu with Kannada ega (Tamil inai) meaning union, connection, fellowship, equality etc. Elame may thus be understood to stand for an association of people, though the exact nature of its composition and functions finds no elucidation in the available records. That elame was indeed a guild or an association with its own binding regulations is attested to by the reference, in many Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara, to its members as elamege elagadavaru i.e. those who were bound by or included in the elame. The figures 150, 4 etc., appear to pertain to different guilds with the common name of elame.

or Elame = Appa ...
do ... ?

When the empire of Vijayanagara extended its power over South Kanara in A.D. 1345 it did not enter the region as its sole master. For almost three years, during A.D. 1345-48, Bāra-kūru was the seat of three powers, those of the ancient Ālupas, the decaying Hoysalas and the growing empire. In A.D. 1348, the Hoysala power made its exit, but the Ālupas continued their compromised existence until the end of the 14th century. From then on, the authority of Vijayanagara held good for most of the Tulu country. While it becomes evident from available inscriptions of the period that the new imperial administrators fostered and freely associated themselves with the existing administrative

institutions, there was one important shift in the region's political set up in that the Tuluvas, for the first time in their long history, came to be ruled, not directly by the king, but by his representatives.

Right from the time of its entry into the empire, the Tulu country was divided into two administrative units called Bārakūru-rājya and Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, with the cities of Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru for their headquarters. The two rāiyas were generally placed under the jurisdiction of two governors who were appointed from time to time and for varying lengths of terms. Frequently enough, however, both the rāiyas were brought under the rule of one governor. The authority who made these appointments was either the emperor himself (mahārāyara nirūpadim) or an imperial officer (dandanāyakara nirūpadim etc.) or both (mahārāyara dandanāyakara nirūpadim etc.). The imperial officers who were thus empowered to appoint the governors held high positions and were designated Mahāpradhāna and / or dandanāyaka. The authority which some of these imperial officers exercised over the whole empire is expressed in terms such as samasta-rāiyavarū pārupatyava māduva kāladalu, samasta-rāiyavaṁ prati-pālisuva kāladalli, samasta-rānuveya pārupatyavaṁ chittaisi^o, samasta-rāneyagalānu pratipālisutt-iralu, etc. Perumāladēva-dannāyaka, among them, is actually stated to be ruling over the empire along with the emperor Dēvarāya I (Dēvarāya-mahārāvaru Perumāladēva-dannāyakaru Vijayanagariva nele-vīdinal-iddu ⁵⁶ rāiyam-geviva kāladalu ā Rāyara dannaṣayakara nirūpadim etc.)

Some of these officers were important enough to have had ministers (pradhāni) under them.

In some cases either or both of the rājyas was conferred on an imperial officer who, in his turn, appointed a man of his own choice to govern the territory. An interesting instance at hand is the case of Ratnappa-Oḍeya who, when Krishṇadēvarāya conferred the Bārakūrurājya on him, made his own son, Vijayappa-Oḍeya, governor of the province.⁵⁷

Some of the governors of the earlier days themselves bore the epithet of Mahāpradhāna and even had ministers designated pradhāni to assist them in administration. The lists of governors for the successive reigns, given in Chapter VI above, show that the same person was, often enough, reappointed to the post after an interval, sometimes more than twice. For instance, Mallappa-Oḍeya served as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya on five different occasions : during A.D. 1512-20, Ratnappa-Oḍeya and his son Vijayappa-Oḍeya frequently alternated in the office of the governor for the same rājya. The lone instance of a Muslim being appointed to the post is met with when, in A.D. 1551, during the reign of Sadāsivarāya, Ekaḍala-khān was serving as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.⁵⁷

The governors were changed at the will of their superiors, without any regard for duration. We may, in this regard, contrast

57 See Chapter VI above.

the long tenures of service in this office of Maleya-dappāyaka (A.D. 1345-65), Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya (A.D. 1408-20) and Viṭharasa-Oḍeya (A.D. 1465-78) with the short periods during which the other known governors sat in the office. In a few cases, the governor of one rājya was transferred as governor of the other rājya. To cite only one instance, Basavappa-Oḍeya, who served as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya from A.D. 1400-03, was, for a short while, transferred as governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya during A.D. 1403-04, before being brought back to his post at Bārakūru.⁵⁷

The lists of governors given in Chapter VI also show that the same governor was, often enough, entrusted with the administration of both the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas. This was obviously done for administrative convenience until in A.D. 1515, when Krishṇadēvarāya was on the throne, the very practice of appointing governors for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya was discontinued. Again, from the time of Achyutarāya onwards, the entire Tulu country came to be bestowed as a fief on the members of the Keḷadi ruling house and was, invariably, known as the Tulu-rājya. The Keḷadi rulers appointed their own governors who, from their headquarters at Bārakūru, administered the entire district of South Kanara.

Even during the period of Vijayanagara authority over South Kanara, considerable parts of the district were under the sway of a number of local ruling families most of them Jaina by religious faith. The most powerful among them were the Kaḷasa-Kāraḷa family, which not only ruled over the region around Kāra-

kaḷa but also ruled over the Kaḷasa region in the Chikamagalur District, the Nagire ruling house, which ruled over parts of the South and North Kanara districts from its headquarters at Gere-soppe and the ruling house of Hāḍuvaliya-rājya which also comprised of parts of the South and North Kanara districts. In the Maṅgaḷūru region, which abounded in tiny principalities, there were the Baṅgas, Chauṭas, the Madda-heggaḍes, the Kinnika-heggaḍes, the Ajilas, the Nāḷinas and the Sāmantas. Some of the inscriptions of these chieftains refer themselves to the reigns of Vijayanagara emperors while the rest omit all references to imperial authority showing thereby the degree of independence which these local rulers were allowed to enjoy. This is further proved by the fact that imperial interference in the affairs and mutual feuds of those petty rulers are only very rarely recorded in the available inscriptions. We have noticed in Chapter VI above the fact that the Baṅga, Chauṭa and Ajila chieftains even assisted the imperial governor in carrying out his responsibilities.

During the Vijayanagara period, the territory of South Kanara provided the interesting sight of a country divided into parts on more than one basis, the various parts overlapping each other. Thus, as we have shown about for purposes of imperial administration, the region was divided in two, the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas. Then there were the feudal principalities like the Hāḍuvali, Nagire, Kaḷasa-Kārkāḷa rājyas which were situated within and also beyond the bounds of the above two rājyas. Besides, the region was also divided into a number of subdivisions known as the nāḍu. Vijayanagara epigraphs contain references to

Paḍuvakōpa-nāḍu, Bayidūra-nāḍu, Udayaṅgalanāḍu, Tilugāḍiya-nāḍu, Kaḍaba-nāḍu, Nālvatta-nāḍu, Hāru-nāḍu, Muṅgināḍu, Vaṇḍalakeya-nāḍu, Kāntārada-nāḍu, Kabu-nāḍu, Khāṇḍe-nāḍu and Bandampalli-nāḍu.

The governor was at the top of the administrative hierarchy^R. He was assisted by a council of ministers who had the designation of pradhāni. Adhikāri was an office held by persons at different levels. We thus hear of nāḍa-adhikāri (i.e. the adhikāri of a district), Bārakūra-adhikāri, Bidureva-sthalada-adhikāri etc. (i.e. adhikāri of a city) and grāmada-adhikāri (i.e. adhikāri of a village).

Of the other offices already discussed, Oḍeva, grāmaṇi, senābōva, ūraluva, heggade, śrīkarana (also as karana and kara-nāka) and bēhāri continue to be referred to in Vijayanagara inscriptions. While these officers were generally concerned with village administration that of the senābōva was of different categories. We thus meet with references to nāḍa-senābōva, sthalada-senābōva and, of course, the village senābōva. An official designated senābōva also served in the various guilds and was, perhaps, entrusted with the task of maintaining their records. An inscription⁵⁸ of A.D. 1472 from Basarūru, for instance, refers to one Saṅkara-senābōva as paḍuvakēriya halaru-seṭṭikārana senābōva. The village headman was also known as nāyaka.

References also occur in inscriptions of this period to appanekāra (= ājñapti, executor of grants), athavare (tax collector), ōlevakāra (messenger) and madhyastha (arbitrator, mediator or Judge).

Internal and international trades in South Kanara received a fillip during the Vijayanagara period. This is amply illustrated by the frequent references, in important contexts, to the trade-guilds of the region. In particular, trade guilds in important townships, such as Bārakūru, Basarūru, Mūdabidure and Vēnūru, rose in importance and their activities and jurisdiction came to govern many aspects of the citizens' lives.

The interests of the traders bringing their commodities from outside for sale in South Kanara were well protected by agreements entered into by local traders. Thus, the Bārakūru⁵⁹ inscription of A.D. 1430, of the reign of Dēvarāya II, recording an agreement between the trading communities of mūrukēri and chaulikēri of Bārakūru, contains a clause reserving a particular place (phāvu) for the foreign merchants (paradēsi-beva-hārigalu) to store the loads of sugar they bring from beyond the Ghāṭs (Ghattada mēlapinda).

Bārakūru was not only a busy trade centre but was also the headquarters of the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya and was, therefore, the largest city in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period. The city was divided into a number of quarters called

59 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 340.

kēri of which records of the period contain frequent references to mūru-kēri, chauliya-kēri, manigāra-kēri, hattu-kēri, kōta-kēri and paduva-kēri. Each kēri had its own trade guilds called settikāra, nakhara and nakhara-hañjamāna. We learn from the inscriptions that the settikāra guild was made up of three members (mūvaru) in the case of mūru-kēri, chauliya-kēri and manigāra-kēri, of four members (nālvaru) in the case of kōta-kēri and of sixteen members (hadināru-mandi) in the case of hattu-kēri.

Basarūru, also an important trade centre, was also divided into kēris of which the paduvakēri and mūdakēri are referred to in the available records. They too had their own trade guilds of the above description. Mūdabidure, referred to in the records as Bidireya-nagara and Vamśa-pura, had an eight member settikāra guild. Venūru had a settikāra guild of sixteen members. Besides these, other important townships such as Maṅgaḷūru, Kāra-kaḷa and Baindūru also had these trade guilds. The nakhara and nakhara-hañjamāna are mentioned with reference to Bāraḷkūru and Basarūru. The Ballālugaḷu and the horahinavarū, organisations referred to above, continue to make their appearance in Vijaya-nagara records but only less frequently.

We learn from inscriptions that these guilds as such and also their members as individuals owned lands. While the nakhara guilds geneally owed allegiance to Śaivism, built a number of temples dedicated to Nakharēśvara and made numerous grants for their maintenance, the settikāra guilds generally belonged to the Jaina faith, built or renovated many of the Jaina bastis and made grants for their maintenance. These guilds figure,

even as in the earlier periods, as donors, donees, administrators and protectors of grants and as arbitrators in disputes between the state and the people and between themselves.

Representative bodies such as the nādu, halaru also referred to as the samasta-halaru and the elame (also referred to as elamegal-olagādavaru and elameg-olagādavaru) figure in the records of the Vijayanagara period. The elames are mentioned as 150 in number for the mūrukēri and manigārakēri and as 770 in number for the hattukēri of Bārakūr, as 4 in number for Mūdabidure and as 4 and 360 in number for Vēpūr.

Other representative bodies already heard of such as nādu, ūru and grāma figure in the records of this period. Besides these, frequent references occur also to the corporation of cultivators, okkalu (usually accompanied by various numerical distinctions) and to the jagattu and Janani or janni. Of the last two jagattu appears to have been an organisation of a general nature. The word janana occurs in South Kanara inscriptions in the sense of landed property. Janani or janni may therefore stand for a guild of landlords. As in the case of Okkalu, the jagattu and janani also are invariably mentioned in association with different numerical figures for different villages.

Members of the traders' guilds and of assemblies of ordinary citizens appear to have been chosen on merit. Many inscriptions vouchsafe to the high calibre of the men who were in-

cluded in such organisations. For instance, an inscription⁶⁰ from Mūdabidure eulogises the members of the settikāra guild and the samasta-halaru of Bidire as well-versed in the Sciences, as builders and renovators of new and old Chaityas and as embellished by all noble qualities. In another inscription⁶¹ from the same place the mahājanas of that town receive such lofty epithets as para-purushārtha-kārigal, dānasīlar, gurujana-bhaktar, kavi-jana-stutar, parama-dayāparar, parahita-charnar, Jina-mārga-dīpakar etc.

These trade and citizens' guilds and the various officials, mentioned to above, were together referred to, in the field of administration, as the kattalevavaru or samasta-kattalevavaru. They helped the imperial governor of the rājya to which they belonged in matters of administration. We have seen above that, according to the Udupi inscription⁶² of A.D. 1437, the samasta-kattalevavaru of the hattukēri of Bārakūru had acted as the arbitrators in a serious dispute between the imperial governor Annappa-Oḍeya and the residents of Sivalīi.

During Vijayanagara administration, these organisations⁶³ rose to great power, wealth and influence. An inscription from

60 Ibid., No. 196.

61 Ibid., No. 202.

62 Ibid., No. 296.

63 ARSIE., 1927-28, No. 395.



Yermmal, Udipi Taluk actually refers to the 1000 warriors (sāvir-ālu) of the Samasta-halaru. From this, it may be concluded that these guilds had their own armed followers whose duty was to protect the interests of their respective guilds. A further attestation to their power is furnished by the Kaikini inscription⁶⁴ of A.D. 1427 from which we learn that the nakhara-hañjamāna was powerful enough to challenge the authority of the governor and thereby invite an attack by the imperial forces.

The importance of these organisations and the sanction accorded to them by local traditions were clearly understood and conceded by the imperial authorities. The Bārakūru inscription⁶⁵ A.D. 1405 of the reign of Bukka II informs us that the emperor restored to the Samasta-halaru, including the nakhara-hañjamāna of the hattkēri of Bārakūru, all their rights and privileges and their conventional status, which had earlier been taken away from them by the imperial governor Mahābaladeva for reasons not stated in the record.

Details regarding military administration in South Kanara during this period are only rarely met with in inscriptions. We had seen above that a number of governors themselves had the title of dandanāvaka. In all military expeditions within the region, imperial forces were led in person by the governor himself. So also, the local rulers were personally at the head of their armies in times of war.

⁶⁴ Karnāṭak Inscriptions, Vol.I, No. 48.

⁶⁵ SII., Vol.VII, No. 349.

It is very likely that standing armies of the empire were stationed in South Kanara. These standing armies, while they were strong enough to maintain the empire's hold on South Kanara, do not appear to have been strong enough to meet serious challenges. We learn from the Kaḷasa inscription⁶⁶ of A.D. 1516, of the reign of the Kaḷasa-Karkaḷa Chief Immadi Bhairarasa, that an act of insubordination on his part necessitated the invasion of the Tulu country by the imperial forces led in person by the great Kṛishṇadēvarāya himself.

The Sujēru inscription⁶⁷ of A.D. 1528, recording a compact between the Chauṭa and Baṅga chieftains, makes a reference to their armies and to the army and cavalry of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler. From this, it may be concluded that while major chieftains of the region maintained their own mounted troops, the minor rulers could not afford the same.

The armed forces of the local rulers appear to have been made up of soldiers recruited not only from Tuluva but also from the adjacent tracts. Thus the Hiriyāṅgaḍi (Karkala Taluk) inscription⁶⁸ of A.D. 1598 refers to the 5000 soldiers of the kōla-bali and the 5000 soldiers of Malaha (i.e. Malabar, the northern parts of Kēraḷa State, south of the Chandragiri river). Though this inscription, by virtue of its late date, falls outside the scope of this thesis, it may be pointed out that its contents

66 Ep.Carn., Vol.VI, Mg. 41.

67 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.

68 SII., Vol.VII, No. 245.

reveal the interesting fact that these standing armies had become a source of trouble and apprehension for their masters.

The port-city of Mangalore was the headquarters of an imperial official called nāvigada-prabhu (i.e. 'Lord of Ships'). It is not possible to say if this officer was the head of a ⁶⁹ naval fleet or was merely the chief of merchant ships.

The modes of administering justice are not expressly elucidated in records from this region. While for the earlier period no references whatever to the modes of punishment occur in inscriptions, with the exception of conventional curses upon the destroyers of grants, the medieval records show that the system of imposing fines was a popular mode of punishment. Some records of the medieval Ālupas, while prescribing the amount of money any erring individual will have to pay as fine to some temple, do not fail to pronounce curses upon and prescribe such punishments ⁷⁰ even to the ruler, should he also err.

Another form of punishment was to expel the culprit from the four castes thereby depriving him of the privileges enjoyed by the rest of the society under this classification.

69 See Ep. Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb. 467. See also B.A. Saletore: Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, pp. 58 and 72.

70 See, for instance, SII., Vol.VII, No. 185.

Capital punishments are nowhere referred to and penalties imposed even for serious crimes were of a mild nature. In A.D. 1347, when Maleya-dappāyaka was governing Bārakūru-rājya, Govinda and Krishna were obliged to make certain grants to the deity Trimūrti for allegedly⁷¹ murdering a brāhmaṇa. In A.D. 1444, some members of the nakhara guild of Basarūru were involved in the murder of Tirumahaḍḍaḷa and Bomma-setṭi. The setti kāra guild of the paduvakēri of Basarūru enquired into the case and passed a judgement to the effect that the nakhara should expiate their sin by making certain gifts of gold to the god Mahā-dēva of the Nakharēśvara temple. It is interesting to note that the settikāra guild⁷² personally supervised the implementation of their judgment.

In matters of disputes between imperial authority and the local rulers, between the local rulers themselves and between the guilds and other organisations, arbitration as a means of obtaining justice was frequently resorted to. We had seen above that, when, in A.D. 1436, the imperial governor Appappa-Oḍeya had invaded and laid waste the village of Sivaḷḷi in Udipi Taluk, the kattalevavaru of the hattukēri of Bārakūru used their good offices to re-establish peace in that village.⁷³ We have also seen above that in A.D. 1528 Kṛishṇānanda-Oḍeya and his disciple Vēdānanda-Oḍeya acted as the arbitrators in bringing about⁷⁴ a political compact between the Chauṭa and Baṅga chieftains.

71 ARIE., 1961-62, App. B, No. 621.

72 SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 450.

73 SII., Vol. VII, No. 296.

74 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 336.

It was customary for the local rulers to sign such agreements in the presence of a non-aligned chieftain to whom they could appeal whenever the terms of such pacts were in jeopardy.

In A.D. 1430, a dispute arose at Bārakūru between the ayī-varu-halaru of chauḷiyakēri and the mūvaru-settikāraru and the samasta-halaru of mūrukēri regarding sugar trade. The dispute became serious enough to result in disturbances. Finally, Chandḍarasa-Oḍeya, the then governor of Bārakūru-rājya was made to act as the arbitrator and an agreement defining the rights of the two kēris in sugar trade was arrived at and duly signed. 75

When in A.D. 1455 a dispute arose between the settikāra guilds of paḍuvakēri and mūdakēri at Basarūru, the disputants assembled at the temple of Viṣṇumūrti at Chiruliḡuṇḍa, accepted the priests of the our mathas of Basarūru and the village assembly of Kandāvura-grāma as arbitrators, and arrived at an agreement regarding the boundary and the rights of their respective locality and guild and the paths through which the settikāras of each locality had to take sheep and areca-nuts to the temple of Dēvī on occasions of festivals. 76

Disputes between individuals are not referred to in the available records. But it may be reasonably supposed that when such disputes arose, they were enquired into by the official

75 SII., Vol.VII, No. 340. This record is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII below.

76 Ibid., Vol:IX, part II, No. 457.

madhyastha (i.e. arbitrator). The system of expiating a crime committed by making grants to temples, however serious the crime may have been, was in wide practice. Such act of expiation is referred to in the records as prāyaschitta.

It may be pointed out in conclusion that for the period immediately following the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565, the administrative set up discussed above held good in almost all respects. Whatever minor changes were effected by the Keladi overlords after A.D. 1565 falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The most remarkable factor which distinguishes South Kanara from the other parts of Dravidian South India is the region's native dialect of Tulu which, being one of the five major languages of the Dravidian stock, has been characterised¹ as one of the most highly developed languages of that family. In the absence of written literature of any kind, it is not possible to measure the antiquity of this language though it follows from statements made in Chapter I above that the language must have developed its own linguistic peculiarities subsequent to the migration of a part of the early Dravidian populace into South Kanara during the iron age. It also follows from Chapter I that the name Tulu, as applied to the region, also came to signify its inhabitants and their dialect.

Nothing has been brought to light regarding any aspect of the life led by the proto-historic men in the Tulu country. Nor is much known about life in the Tuluva prior to the advent of the early Ālupas. During the early centuries of the Christian era, when Tuluva was inhabited by the Kōsar and again when it came under the sway of Nannan, facts which are gleaned from the

1 Caldwell: A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages (II edn.), p. 35.

Saṅgam literature and which have been discussed in detail in Chapter II, the Tuluvas appear to have led a very active and martial life. From Agam 15 of Agayṁānūru we learn that the Kōsar were wont to adorn their bodies lavishly with jewels. As for the economic conditions which prevailed during those early days, absolutely nothing is known.

With the appearance of the Vaḍḍarṣe² inscription in the middle of the 7th century, the Tulu country emerges from its historical darkness. From this inscription we come to know that the people of South Kanara were subject to a ruler whose name was Āluvarasa and whose dynastic name, as gleaned from successive records, was Āluva or Ālupa. By the middle of the 7th century, the Aryan classification of society into four castes had come to govern human society in that region. For, the Vaḍḍarṣe inscription records, as can be seen from Chapter III, a grant of money for feeding 17 brāhmanas. Though legendary accounts as given in the Sahyādri-kāṇḍa and the Grāmapaddhati attribute the import of brāhmanas into South Kanara to the Kadamba ruler Mayūravarmān of the middle of the 4th century, the Vaḍḍarṣe record contains the earliest recorded reference to the brāhmanas and also vouchsafes for the high and revered position which they enjoyed with the rulers and the people. The brāhmanas lived in their own³ agrahāras in every village and the Udiyāvāra inscription³ of Rapa-

2 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 296.

3 SII., Vol. VII, No. 284.

sāgara (C. A.D. 765-805) considers the destruction of the brahma-pura (i.e. brahmins' quarters) of Śivaḷḷi as a mahāpātaka.

Individual bravery as displayed in battlefields was held in great respect and the rulers were wont to commemorate the heroic death of their warriors and even to make compensatory grants for the benefit of the dependents of the deceased. The Kariyaṅgaḷa inscription⁴ of Raṇasāgara employs the word pariyāra (Skt. parihāra = compensation) in this context. While military solutions to differences were often sought, the path of peace and peaceful settlements were not ignored. The Bantra⁵ inscription, already discussed, records one such compact for ending enmity, vengeance and warfare entered into by four chieftains of the 9th century.

The head of the family was much respected at the family level even as the king was acknowledged as their master by the citizens. In many of the early inscriptions, donees as well as deceased heroes are mentioned with their father's names prefixed⁶ to their own.

The natural beauty of the coastal district had elicited the praise of poets even in early days. Māmūlanār, one of

4 Ibid., No. IX, Part I, No. 392.

5 ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 351.

6 See, for e.g., Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 17-23, Nos. I, II, III, IV, VI and VIII.

of the poets, whose songs have found their way into the anthology Aganānūru, in one of his poems sings that in the forests of Tulu-nāḍu, the peacock, with spots like the side of a drum, pecked at the well-grown, magnificent, green jack-fruit hanging from its tuft-like stem. The author of the Vēlvikṇḍi copper plate grant of Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (A.D. 756-815), describes Maṅgalapura (i.e. Mangalore) as the great city where the peacock danced with the Cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers. From this record we can also conclude that as early as in the 7th 8th centuries, the Tulu country had made great strides in the economic field and that Mangalore was even in those times a flourishing and populous township well-known to be called a mahā-nagara (great city) in the record of an imperial dynasty.

Inevitably enough, from early times, South Kanara was a predominantly agricultural country. Landed properties were, therefore, aptly termed, as is revealed by medieval and later inscriptions from that region, as bālu which signifies life and subsistence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the economic life of the people and their rulers centred round the incomes derived from agricultural products, especially so during the early and medieval times. Agriculturists, consequently, formed

7 Aganānūru, Agam 15.

8 Ep.Ind., Vol.XVII, pp. 301 and 307.

an important section of the citizenry and this is attested to by one of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Māramma alias Āluvarasa⁹ IV in which six agriculturists (Okkalu) figure as the donees for a royal grant.

From early times, lands were owned by the royalty as well as by private citizens. The right of cultivating royal lands was held by officials serving under the king as is evidenced by the Vaddarse inscription, referred to earlier, according to which one Āḍakappa was holding the cultivation rights over the lands in Vaddarse. Gifting of royal lands to temples and brāhmanas, to private citizens of the agricultural class as also to deceased warriors was in vogue under the early Ālupas.

Under the early Ālupas, commerce was conducted generally through the barter system. The royal treasury received tax amounts in kind. Taxation in kind on such agricultural products as paddy (nel), rice (akki), pepper (velasu, melasu), cotton (paḷ-¹⁰ti) and areca-nuts (adake) is referred to in early inscriptions from the region. Apart from these taxes on land articles (stha-¹¹la-suṅka), tolls were levied on articles on water (jala-suṅka). By this may be understood that fishing and also the marine and riparian trades were subjected to taxation.

9 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 23, No. VIII and plate.

10 Ibid., p. 22, No. VII and plate; SII., Vol. VII, No. 284.

11 Ibid., p. 21, No. VI.

Of the weights and measures which were in vogue during the early Ālupa period, one of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Māramma mentions the following -¹²

saṅkura: It has been suggested that this may be the same as saṅkara in which case the word may stand for 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock'.

puttige: same as putti meaning 'a basket'.

malaye: It has been suggested that this may be another form of mana or manavu, 'a maund'.

pala: a particular weight.

pēru: a [head-]load.

Of these, though saṅkura, puttige and pēru, as understood above, are general terms denoting containers in the first two, and an unspecified quantity in the last, cases, since they are mentioned in the record in the context of taxation, they may be taken to have denoted, in those days, a standard quantity fixed by convention or by decree.

12 Ibid., p. 22, No. VII. The interpretations for the terms are offered by Hultzsch in the footnotes on the same page of the journal.

Information on the coinage under the early Ālupas is only next to nothing. The Vaḍḍarśe inscription of Āluvarasa I registers a gift of 17 kañchu and 1 kil-gañchu for feeding 17 brāhmanas. Kañchu in Kannada means 'white copper' or 'brass' or 'bell-metal'.¹³ Kañchu and kil-gañchu, therefore, appear to be the names for a higher and lower denomination respectively of two coins struck from kañchu. But for the fact that Dravidian ḷ was in common use in Kannada language and writing at this period, it would have been reasonable to suggest a relationship between kañchu and kalañchu, the latter word standing for the name as well as the weight of a gold coin in circulation in the Tamil country from early times. It may be pointed out here that the Mallam inscription¹⁴ of Pallava Nandivarman II, in which the Ālupa ruler Āluvara II (C. A.D. 730-65) figures as his feudatory, mentions this gold coin called kalañchu.

Some of the Udiyāvara inscriptions¹⁵ refer to the tolls on the cities of Udiyāvara and Paṭṭi (i.e. Pombuchcha) which reminds one of the many medieval Ālupa inscriptions which contain references to collective (samudāya) taxes levied on and collected from villages.

The records of the medieval and later Ālupas contain

13 Kittel: Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v.

14 Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol.I, pp.429-30 and plate.

15 Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI-VIII; SII., Vol.VII, No. 284.

more information on the social life of Tuluva. We learn from most inscriptions of this period that the ruler was surrounded by much pomp and pageantry. The ruler was present in person in the audience hall (moga-sāle) of the palace at the time of making royal proclamations and grants and, on all such occasions, the official hierarchy led by the council of ministers (samasta-pradhānas) and including the bāhattara niyōgis and dēsi-puru-shas stood in attendance upon the king or queen, as the case may be. The festive atmosphere which marked the presence of the ruler in the audience hall is found expressed in medieval Ālupa records by the phrase samasta-gondal=āsthāna. The principal cities of Tuluva during this period, Bārakūru and Mangalore, appear to have had more than one palace each as is implied by the expression hiriya-aramane i.e. the big or old palace. The audience hall in the palace at Mangalore was known by the lofty name of Bhuvanāśraya (i.e. the refuge of the world).¹⁶

The throne was not merely the centre of pomp and grandeur but the ruler was on the same footing as the lowliest of his citizens in matters of protecting social and religious obligations and in preserving age old customs. A few inscriptions, while pronouncing curses and fines upon those who flout the grants recorded therein, also include the ruler in their wake (e.g. intivellavam vichārisi rakshisadiddade arasiṅge Gaṅge-

16 See for e.g. SII., Vol.VII, No. 185.

Rāmēśvaradalu sāvira kavile sāvira brāhmanaram konda pāpa¹⁷)

The priestly class and the brāhmanas were much respected by the rulers and the people. Many medieval records include the purohitas in the list of officials present in the royal audience hall. The high position held by the brāhmanas in the social structure in the Tulu country as elsewhere is illustrated by such expressions as sāvira brāhmanaram konda dōsha, sāvira-brāhmanaram rakshisida punya etc., occurring in the imprecatory passages of medieval inscriptions.

Caste system had taken deep roots and the four principal castes are referred to in the records of the period as nāḷku-jāti. Excommunication became an effective deterrent to the flouting of religious grants. Besides the four principal castes, the lowest strata of society consisted of untouchables, referred to as horahinavaru, and those who had been punished with ex-communication and expulsion from the nāḷku-jāti.

Each family was a closely knit unit of the social structure and it was customary for men, as in the earlier period, to associate their names with the names ^{of their elders and predecessors}. An important instance at hand is the Keñjūru inscription ¹⁸ of A.D. 1281 of the reign of Ballamahādēvi, mentioning prince Baṅkidēva as belonging to the lineage of Dattālva (Dattālvara-baliya Baṅki-dēva).

17 Ibid.

18 ARSI., 1931-32, No. 336.

The inscriptions of the medieval period vouchsafe to the increase in the number of temples, a fact dealt with in chapter IX below. Discourses were arranged in these temples and this afforded the people an avenue for entertainment as well as enlightenment. The Mangalore inscription¹⁹ of Kulasēkhara I (C. A.D. 1116-1220) proscribes a fine of 5-1/2 honnu (gold coins) as fine to be paid by the temple official adhyaksha if he should fail to arrange for the daily discourses (dina dina nadeva kathamāle) in the temple of Baṅkēśvara. An additional source of entertainment for the people was the daily dancing performances by the kūṭāḍuva-bākananṅevāru (female dancers).¹⁹

The inscriptions of the medieval and later Ālupas furnish more information on the economic conditions which prevailed during their times. It is during this period that the word bālu came to be used as a synonym for landed property. While the barter system continued both in the fields of commerce and taxation, money was also brought into wider circulation.

The names of weights and measures which are in popular usage now in South Kanara make their appearance in the inscriptions of this period. The extent of a cultivable land was defined with reference to the quantity of seed which could be sown

in it (eg., 60 mūde bittuva bayalu i.e. a field in which 60 mūdes of seed could be sown). The names of the weights and measures for agricultural produces which appear in these inscriptions are

mudi, mude or mūde = a weight of 3360 tolas; a measure of 42 seers and the extent of a land in which so much seed could be sown.²⁰

khaṇḍuga, kaṇḍuga = Land measure, dry measure and liquid measure; also weight. Ikkhaṇḍuga, mūgaṇḍuga and nālgaṇḍuga denote respectively twice, thrice and four times the value of a kaṇḍuga.

hāne = dry and liquid measures.

kudite = dry and liquid measures

paḍi = dry measure.

māna = dry and liquid measure.

The following terms describing the nature of ownership of lands²¹ occur in the medieval and later Ālupa inscriptions:-

20 The equivalents for this and the other weights and measures listed above are taken from A Kisamwar Glossary of Kanarese words.

21 See P.V. Kane : History of Dharmasāstra, Vol.II, part II, pp. 865-69, for a detailed discussion of the question of ownership of land.

gēpi = land tenancy; the rent paid by the tenant to the land-lord.

mūliga = cultivator who has taken cultivable lands on permanent lease from their owner/s.

The following agricultural terms are found used in these inscriptions -

bede-kāru = wet land to be sown during the rainy season.

bede-ganagilu = land in which ganagilu (fragrant oleander) are to be sown and grown.

kala-bhūmi = threshing floor.

Coins find frequent mention in the Ālupa records of this period. Many types of gadyāna coins were in circulation. Of these, the coin known as Pāṇḍya-gadyāna is mentioned as early as in A.D. 1139 in the Kōṭakēri inscription²² of Kavi Ālupēndra. The name of Pāṇḍya being one of the dynastic names of the Ālupas, Pāṇḍya-gadyāna obviously meant coins issued by them and may be deemed to have denoted, during the medieval period, gold coins a few specimens of which have been noticed so far. The coins in question²³ are of gold and are die struck. The obverse of these coins depicts two fish under an umbrella-shaped canopy,

22 SII., Vol.VII, No. 381.

23 ARIE., 1961-62, App. E, Nos. 277 and 278; See also Brown: The coins of India, plate VII, No. 3.

with a lamp and Chauri to their right and left respectively. The reverse contains the legend Śrī-Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya. The Ālupas had the mīna-lāñchana for their emblem and the umbrella-like canopy reminds us of the expression ēka-chhatrādhirāja used in medieval Ālupa inscriptions while introducing the ruler. Bārakūṛagadyāna and Maṅgalūra-gadyāna are also referred to in the inscriptions. These two names may have denoted coins issued out of the royal mints at Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru, the two capital cities of the Ālupas. It is likely that the name gadyāna was applied to coins struck from more than one metal for the inscriptions, in some instances, specifically refer to the coin as honna-gadyāna i.e. gold gadyāna. Besides, the word gadyāna is itself found frequently mentioned without any distinguishing prefixes.

Besides these terms, gold coins were referred to by the word in Kannada for gold, namely, ṇṇu or honnū. The word pana also occurs, though only rarely.

It is possible to arrive at a fairly authentic estimate of the economic conditions in which people of South Kanara found themselves during the medieval and later Ālupa times. The wealth of the people consisted mainly of land and land, therefore, was the main source of income for the royal treasury. The utter dependence of the people and the rulers on land-harvests is strikingly brought home by the Sujēru inscription²⁴ of A.D. 1305

of the reign of Baṅkiḍeva II. The kingdom was hit by drought in that year and the king took a vow to make grants to the god Timirēśvara if the rains returned. The king's prayer was answered and in August, in which month the inscription under question was engraved, grants of lands were accordingly made by the grateful ruler.

The large number and variety of taxes, levied in kind and in money, on lands, on agricultural products and on trades attest to the prosperity of the medieval and later Ālupa periods. Villages were liable to pay to the royal treasury taxes in money, referred to in the records as samudaya or samudāya-gadyāna. Samudaya or samudāya is to be understood in the sense of a collective or total contribution and, as such, is found used with reference to levies of more than one kind. Thus, while the Kōṭēśvara inscription²⁵ of A.D. 1261 of the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva-Ālupendra fixes the amount of taxes to be paid by the villagers of Kuḍikūru at 180 samudāya - gadyānas per annum, the Nīlāvara inscription²⁶ of A.D. 1258 and of the same ruler declares that the 'three hundred of Niruvāra should pay 100, 30 and 301 samudāya-gadyānas per year respectively to the king, the adhikāri and the village of Niruvāra. An inscription²⁷

25 SII., Vol.IX, part I, No. 395.

26 ARSIE., 1928-29, No.490.

27 SII., Vol.IX, part I, No. 396.

of A.D. 1262 from Kundāpur, belonging to the same reign fixes the samudāya tax to be paid annually by the village of Kundā-pura at 140 gadvānas.

Land owners and cultivators paid part of their products into the royal treasury as tax. The quantum of this levy is nowhere specified in the available records. The Hānehallī inscription²⁸ of Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva-Ālupēndra clearly states that the king made a gift of paddy which was due to the royal treasury from the makki lands of Brahmaūra (tamage bahantaha bideya bittavanu etc.). Lands and their products yielded more than one kind of tax income for the treasury. Land lords were levied tax in money for their ownership and this tax was called bhukti-samudāya, bhukti standing for 'enjoyment' or 'possession'. Each piece of land under cultivation was subject to taxation (bālu-tere).

Other land taxes mentioned in these inscriptions include kattunderu, bedugula which is also found written as beduṅgula, bedugūlu and beduṅgolu, mēlāva, āruvāra, bīdāruvāra and kulāgra or kulādya.

Of these kattunderu appears to have meant land taxes assessed from time to time (teru = tax and kattu = assess or impose). The exact significance of bedugula is not known. The word

is, no doubt, a compound of bedu + kula the second meaning a farmer or a land-tenant who pays taxes. The word bedu is not found in any lexicon and if it could be equated with bettu = a field lying on a higher level, imperfectly irrigated and depending on the rains, then bedugula may be taken to stand for taxations levied from farmers cultivating such lands. Mēl-āya (excess tax) as the very name indicates may be interpreted as a surcharge on land taxes.

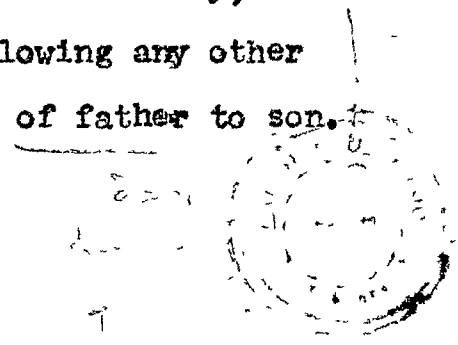
Āruvāra is the same as āravāra meaning land mortgage of an usufructuary nature. The references in inscriptions to āravāra may be taken to stand for taxation on such mortgaged lands. Bīdu = bīlu means a land kept waste or uncultivated. Bīdāravāra may, therefore, be the taxation on such mortgaged lands which were cultivable but not cultivated.

It is difficult to conclude what kulāgra and kulādyā stood for. Agra and ādyā are synonyms meaning 'the beginning'. The terms, no doubt, denoted taxes paid by land tenants. They appear to be synonyms of the term kula-pramāṇa occurring in inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period, and may have denoted the tax each cultivator was obliged to pay at the time of taking up a new tenancy.

The large number of inscriptions which have so far been discovered provide us with much information on the social and economic conditions which prevailed in South Kamara during the Vijayanagara period. While the district as a whole was

divided into the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas with the two cities of that name as the headquarters for the two imperial governors appointed from time to time, large chunks of the region fell under the sway of local chieftains. The presence of the ruler in the audience hall, referred to in many medieval Ālupa inscriptions, is no more referred to in the records of the governors and the local chieftains. Unlike in the earlier periods, when the loyalty of the entire populace had vested with one monarch, during the Vijayanagara period, people of the region living in different parts were subject to their respective local rulers. Their allegiance to the imperial governors was closely related to the allegiance [their own masters to the imperial authority. And it has been made clear in Chapter VI above that the allegiance of the many local rulers to the Vijayanagara power was more or less adventitious and was withdrawn wherever the chieftains felt secure in doing so. The frequent dynastic rivalries at Vijayanagara provided these mirror rulers with opportunities to enjoy brief intervals of independence.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century, there is no evidence of the Tuluvas following any other system ~~of~~ system of succession but that of father to son.



The ancient family of the Ālupas never adopted the aliya-santāna (uncle to nephew) system of succession as long as they remained a power which mattered. Side by side with the introduction of Vijayanagara authority in South Kanara, a number of local ruling families, mostly Jaina in faith, made their appearance. These families generally followed the aliya-santāna system of succession and naturally enough this system came to be adopted by a good section of the populace, thus adding one more distinctive feature to the region.

Though the wide prevalence of this system of succession can be attributed only to the fourteenth century, the seeds of this are to be found in the undated ²⁹ Talangere inscription of the Ālupa ruler Jayasīṃha I, discussed in Chapter IV. This inscription states that in the lineage of Jōgavve, who was probably the king's sister, the right of succession goes to the female children and not to the line of male children and that, only if there are no female children, the succession will devolve on the male issues. This system is, of

29 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 203-04 and plate.

course, different from the aliya-santāna system in so far as in the latter case the right of successor devolves upon the sister's son. Nevertheless, the Talāṅgere inscription serves as a prelude to the importance of females in a family which the aliya-santāna system clearly expostulates. It is also likely that the prevalence of this system of succession in parts of the neighbouring state of Kēraḷa influenced the adoption of the aliya-santāna system by the later rulers and the people of South Kanara. We have pointed out in Chapter IV above that Baṅki-dēva II, the nephew (aliya) of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva, who is the only known aliya of an Ālupa king to have sat on the throne, may have claimed the throne for himself on the strength of the aliya-santāna system of succession prevalent outside South Kanara and among the rising families of local chieftains within South Kanara and among the rising families of local chieftains within South Kanara itself.

30

The Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1430 helps us to take the earliest prevalence of the aliya-santāna system, as evidenced by epigraphical sources, to the middle of the thirteen

30 SII., Vol. VII, No. 202. For a detailed discussion on the aliya-santāna system, see History of Tuluva, pp. 352-67.

century. This inscription gives the genealogy of the Kaḷasa-Kārkala dynasty for seven generations, from Honna to Bhairava I and his younger brother. The inscription clearly states each successor was the nephew of his predecessor. Thus, roughly assigning a period of 25 years for each reign, we arrive at the middle of the thirteenth century as the most likely period for Honna.

Quite often, names of individuals are found mentioned in the records of this period in association with their family names as in Toḷahara-baliya^o, Chautara-baliya^o, Baṅgara-baliya^o, etc. Names of individuals also occur in the records in association with their ancestral houses (eg. hupise-maneya Govinda, kuyala-maneya Kṛṣṇa, hosa-maneya Nārāṇa etc.) and land (eg. koṁ-bettim-baliya Arasakabbe).

Terms originally indicative of office such as nāyaka, heggade, sēnabōva, adhikāri, dandānāyaka, etc., terms indicative of professions such as setti, ballālu, etc., and terms indicative of caste such as bhaṭṭa, Upādhvāya, setti, āluva, etc. are found very frequently appended to the proper names of individuals figuring in the records of this period. Members of the settiḷkāra and halaru guilds are often found mentioned in association with the particular guild of a town or village to which they belonged.

Everything was done to render life in the cities and towns easy and to promote easy contacts between the various corners of the district during this period. Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara abound in references to highways, roads, lands and foot-paths (rāja-bīdi, bīdi, ri -heddⁱ, heddāri,

naḍeva-ṇi, ṇi etc.). For the social and economic history of South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period, the importance of the Basarūr inscription ³¹ of A.D. 1455 of the reign of Mallikārjuna cannot be overstated. According to this record the halaru of the mūḍakēri of Basarūru were obliged to set apart from the lands which they owned, a stretch of land measuring 12 kōlu in breadth for purposes of laying a road for the use of local citizens as well as outsiders (sudēśi-paradēśigalu naḍava ubhaya-mārgga). There is a further stipulation that in the matter of carrying offerings to the temple of Dēvī, the above road was to be utilised only by the halaru of the mūḍakēri and not by the halaru of paḍuvakēri. Again, according to the same record, the responsibility of relaying an old road of equal breadth in another part of Basarūru devolved upon the halaru of paḍuvakēri. We also learn from this record that on the sides of important roads, mango trees were grown, evidently for shade and shelter (heddāriya sāla-māvu).

The needs of the city dwellers were well looked after. The many Jaina chieftains who flourished during the Vijayanagara period in South Kanara initiated an architectural renaissance which resulted in the construction of a number of remarkable bastis in important Jaina centres. The Mūḍabidure inscription ³² of A.D. /430 of Dēvarāya describes the city of Mangalore as the abode of groups of beautiful damsels, with its rich markets dealing in gold etc., whose inhabitants were ever kept

31 Ibid., Vol.IX, Part II, No. 457.

32 Ibid., Vol.VII, No. 196.

happy with plentiful of paddy and other grains. The same record speaks of Mūdabidure as a flourishing city surrounded by choice fields of paddy, sugarcane, etc., which apparently assured a steady source of food for the population. The same city was rendered more beautiful by numerous gardens and tanks; its well-laid roads were frequented by groups of charming damsels and the city abounded in merchants selling gold and precious stones, ^Cchina silk (Chīn=āmbara) and ⁿbagles. Many poets, renowned for their literary achievements, lived in the city and its sky-high Jaina bastis were full of people of good character who were gathered to listen to discourses on Jainism.

Day to day life in the rural areas must have taxed the time and energy of the majority of the population mostly on lands. The agriculturists, however, were provided with many amenities which must have assured a steady yield of food crops. The Basarūru inscription of Mallikārjuna, already referred to, for instance, refers to the maintenance of more than one water canal (nīru-hariva ōṇi) and similar reference^s occur in many other records. These canals were obviously dug out to pave the flow of rain water along the cultivated fields.

We had seen above that during the early and medieval Ālupa period, the royal treasury and also the people depended mainly on agriculture for their economic prosperity. The Vijaya-

nagara period saw the emergence of South Kanara as an important trade province and many cities and towns in the district developed into major trade centres with well-knit guilds and associations representing the interests of various trading groups. The large number, nature and importance of trade guilds such as setṭikāra, nakhara, hañjamāna and ballālu have been discussed in detail in Chapter VI above. These guilds, as also their members in their individual capacities, figure in epigraphs in many contexts, as arbitrators, donors, donees, as protectors of grants and even as disputants. The records amply illustrate the important role played by these guilds in the political social, economic and religious history of the period.

While, on the agricultural front, South Kanara appears to have been self-sufficient, certain crops had to be imported from beyond the Ghats. Two Bārakūru inscriptions³⁴ of A.D. 1430 of the reign of Dēvarāya II, for instance, record an agreement between the trade guilds of chaulyakēri and mūru-kēri of Bārakūru on sharing, for purposes of sales, the loads of rice (akki), Wheat (gōḍi), Bengal gram (kaḍale), Phaseolus mungo (uddu), green gram (hesaru), Sesamum indicum (ellu), sugar cane (kabbu), fenugreek (mente), ghee (tuppa), Jaggery (bella) and certain other necessities imported from beyond the Ghats (Ghaṭṭada mēlanindalu bahanthā^o). These records also prescribe regulations for the sale of sugar brought by local and foreign

34 Ibid., Nos. 309 and 340.

traders from above the Ghats. There is an interesting stipulation, meant obviously to maintain the balance in trade, that the merchants of the chauliyakēri and mūrukēri should collectively weigh and store the stock of sugar and that whatever quantity remained unsold should not be taken to mūrukēri by the merchants of that part of the city but should be retained in the store-house (malige) to be sold at times of demand. The right of selling cotton sarees (nūlu-sīre) was made the exclusive privilege of the merchants of mūrukēri by the agreement registered in these records.

The increase in trade must have resulted in general economic betterment and trade guilds and traders benefitted much from this development. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Vijayanagara records from South Kanara, next to the imperial governors, merchants and their guilds rank as the most important donors of gifts of money and lands to the temples.

The system of land ownership and the rights of cultivation were much the same as in the earlier times during the Vijayanagara period also. Whole villages and the cultivable lands belonging to them were, in many cases owned by the State and are found referred to in inscriptions as bhaṇḍāra-sthala, aramaneva-bhaṇḍāra-sthala, aramanega saluva bhaṇḍāra-sthala etc. Besides this, lands owned by temples and private citizens were differently designated with reference to their owners as, for instance, dēvasya, purohita-sthala, brahmasya, etc.

Land revenue continued to yield the bulk of the income for the State treasury. Many types of lands and land taxes, including the ones which were prevalent during the earlier period and discussed above, are found mentioned in the records of the period.

Types of lands:

āgara, hiriya-āgara, uppin-āgara: a salt-pan. ³⁵

bayalu: a plain open field best suited for rice cultivation, lying low, having abundance of water and producing two or three crops of rice or two of rice and one of grain.

berikeya-bhūmi: ^{field consisting of} various kinds of earth mixed together.

bettu: a field lying on a higher level than bayalu, imperfectly irrigated, depending for water sometimes on the rains and sometimes on a reservoir and producing but one crop.

biā-gadde: waste, uncultivated land.

hadahu: a table-land, a plateau.

35 - A Kisamwar Glossary of Kanarese words and Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary have been consulted in arriving at the meanings given for this and other technical terms listed above.

hadalu: a waste rice-field, fallow land.

hakkalu: an elevated piece of ground covered with brush-wood;
a piece of dry land irrigated by rain and used for
raising vegetables on.

hola-gadde: land for wet and dry cultivation.

hāli: a plot of field.

kambala-gadde: a field in which buffalo races take place.

karikaya-bayalu: a field covered with the Hurallee grass.

kuduru: an island formed in a river by alluvial deposit; an
islet.

majalu: a field higher than bayalu but lower than betty in
which a sing^{le} crop of rice can be raised despite the
deficiency in the periodical rains.

makki: the worst kind of land yielding one crop.

bidiradiya - hunise-adiya -, teṅgin-adiya -, hoyimanna-makki: makki
land growing bamboo, tamarind trees, cocoa-nut trees and
makki land covered with sandy soil respectively.

tāru-gadde: probably, dry land.

tittē: an elevated dry land.

Land owners and agricultural labourers:

mūla-kāra: the original proprietor or holder of a permanent lease obtained from the government, or his assignee. The terms mūla-gadde and mūlada-bālu are to be understood in this light.

gēni-kāra: he who has taken up land for cultivation on rent or contract.

vr̥itti-kāra: he who is in enjoyment of a gifted land.

okkalu: tenants of the soil, professional agriculturists.

kīl-okkalu: this term probably denotes servants working on lands under the okkalu.

holevālu, hennālu: the lowest cadre of males and females working on lands. These were slaves who could be transferred with the land, at the time of the latter's sale or donation, to the new master.

Taxes:

ādi: this seems to be an abbreviation for kulāḍya or kulāgra, explained above. The terms mūlāḍi and ardhāḍi, found mentioned in the records of the period, may respectively denote such tax levied on land in possession of the original owner and one half of such tax amount.

āruvāra: this term has been explained above. Antar-āruvāra occurring in the records of the period seems to indicate interim taxation on mortgaged lands.

hode-kattu: hode means besides other things 'an ear of corn just before fully shooting forth'. hode-kattu may, therefore, stand for a tax assessed and levied in between the stages of planting and harvest.

iōḍi: a half or quarter of the gross value of the produce paid as tax by a person reclaiming a certain portion of waste-land and settling on it.

kaddāva: compulsory levy.

kattunderu, kattu-teru: this term has been explained above.

kula: land tax paid by a cultivator. The amount of such tax to be paid, when duly assessed, is referred to in the records as kula-pramāṇa. Inscriptions reveal that this tax was generally levied in cash and only rarely in kind. In the case of gifted lands, this tax was exempted (kulava-kalachi etc.).

kundu: this word means deficiency or fault and may, therefore, stand for a surcharge on the payment of tax arrears.

nattu: this term is, probably, derived from nadu meaning 'to plant' and hence may denote a tax levied on each young plant freshly planted. That such a levy was in vogue is proved by passages such as āthāvili sasiya nattare sasige 4 hana gepdege 1 honnu.

sēse: (tadbhava or sēsha) - the word sēsha means surplus, remainder etc. sēse, therefore, appears to be a tax levied on surplus products which did not fall within the original assessment.

Sēse also means a tax levied for the surplus of the assessment.

siddhāya: fixed assessment.

It is regretted that the above lists are not, by any means, exhaustive. I have not been able to interpret a few terms such as hodike, hadike, osari etc., which are found mentioned in the records, along with the names of taxes explained above. Many other tax names have not been included because of the uncertainty in their reading owing to the damaged nature of the inscriptions.

Much advance was registered during the Vijayanagara period in the field of land administration. Land revenue was subject to reassessment from time to time and the sale and purchase of lands were governed by a number of rules and regulations prescribed by the imperial administration. The Coondapur inscription³⁷ of A.D. 1425 of the reign of Dēvarāya II, for instance, records that the imperial governor Narasimhadēva-Oḍeya, after making a thorough enquiry among the inhabitants of Kundāpura who had assembled at his call, restored a piece of land, originally gifted as a purōhita-sthala and which had come to be misappropriated, to its old status and made a fresh assessment of the taxes to be levied on the land. This assessment was done without prejudice to the siddhāya tax to be paid to the royal

treasury. Such assessments are referred to in the records of the period as kula-kattu (kulava-kattu, etc.).

The boundaries of each piece of land, owned by the State, temples and private individuals, were demarcated in detail (chauts-sime, nalku-gadi, i.e. the boundaries on the four quarters).

A few technical phrases indicating the nature of the sales and purchases of lands are met with in the inscriptions of the period. The land purchased from its owner by a prospective donor is usually described by the phrase artha-parichchēdavāgi konḍu mūla-parichchēdavāgi kottadu i.e. 'purchased by absolute payment and gifted with absolute rights'. Land gifts are also referred to as mūla-kṛaya-dāna indicating that such lands were absolutely paid for prior to their being given away as gifts. Another expression 'nāvaru-mūla' occurs in the records of the period with reference to the purchase and donation of lands. This probably stands for the purchase of land along with 'the agricultural services including the right to use a plough'.³⁸ The prices paid in purchasing lands were the ones prevalent from time to time (tatu-kāl-ōchita mūlya).³⁹

Besides the State, temples and individual citizens, organisations such as the setṭikāra and halaru guilds and the mahājanas also owned lands in their collective capacity. Many records of the period, while delineating the boundaries of

38 A Kisanwār Glossary of Kanarese Words, p. 94

39 SII., Vol.IX, part II, No. 609.

lands, refer to the gadi or boundary of lands owned by such associations (settikārara gadiyīm^o, chaulyakēriya halara gadiyīm^o, mahājanara gadiyīm^o, etc.).

Those entrusted with lands gifted to temples were obliged to provide the specified quantities of land products to the deities irrespective of the failure of crops owing to failure of rains and drought (bāna-gēdu bara-gēdu ennade).⁴⁰

A number of weights and measures including the ones in vogue during the earlier period are found mentioned in the Vijayanagar inscriptions.

hāne, hāni: dry and liquid measures, prevalent in the South and North Kanara districts. yippāne, muṣvāne and nālvāne denote, respectively, two, three and four hānes. The records also mention nāda-hāne and kañchina - hāne. The former, in all probability, denotes a standard of the measure locally prescribed while the latter refers to the measure made of bell-metal (kañchu).

mūde, mude, mudi: this term has been explained above. Unlike in the earlier period, this term appears to have denoted more than one quantum of measure. Nāda-mūde, though of rare occurrence in the records, suggests

40 See, for eg., Ibid., No. 444.

that the quantity of a mūde was subject to local variations. Expressions such as nāgandūḡada-mūde also imply that it had come to be taken as a common term for dry measure. It is found often in its abridged forms of mu^o and mū^o.

khanduga, kanduga: this term also has been explained above.

The nāganduga of the earlier records is variously written in this period as nāgham, nālvande, nāgande etc. It is also found written in its abridged forms as kaṁ^o, khaṁ^o, and ghaṁ^o.

hēru: a word applicable to weight and dry and liquid measures.

solagi, sodagi: this seems to be the same as solage a liquid measure, equal to one fourth of a kuduva or of a balla.

Kudite, padi and māna have been explained above.

Specific scales for land measurement make their appearance in the records of this period. The Basarūru inscription of A.D. 1455, already discussed, for instance mentions kōlu, a measuring rod (mūru kōlu nela^o, hannaradu kōl-agalada pramānina hadi etc.). The more common method of land measurement, however, continued to be based on the quantum of seed that could be sown on a given plot of field.

With the marked increase in commerce, money came into wider circulation. We have already pointed out above that,

unlike in the earlier periods, taxes came to be generally paid in money. The most common types of coins in circulation were known as gadyāna, varāha, honnu and hana. Their types and different denominations, mentioned in the records, are as follows:-

kāti-gadyāna: The meaning of the word kāti is now known.

ardha-kāti-gadyāna: coin having half the value of a kāti-gadyāna.

bāhira-gadyāna: this appears to denote foreign (bāhira) coins i.e. coins struck outside South Kanara and brought into circulation in the region.


sanna-Pratāpa-gadyāna: a small gadyāna probably issued by the Vijayanagara rulers in view of the title pratāpa.

dodda-varaha, dodda-varaha-gadyāna: a higher denomination of varaha.

ghatti-varaha: this may denote a varaha with a high percentage of gold content.

In many instances gadyāna and varaha are found used to denote the same coin and are also found used together as varaha-gadyāna.

Honnu meaning gold was a common name for gadyāna and varaha. It also occurs frequently as kāti-honnu.

hana, also mentioned in the records as kāti-hana was a smaller denomination of gadyāna (cf. varaha-gadyāna 176 hana 3).⁴¹ The symbol for hana, as found in these records, is  while the other coins are found mentioned in their abbreviated forms as follows: ga^o (gadyāna); kā ga^o (kāti-gadyāna); va^o (varaha); va ga^o (varaha-gadyāna) bā ga^o (bāhiri-gadyāna).

Bārakūru which, along with Mangalore, was one of the two headquarters of imperial governors, had its own mint from which coins were minted and issued. This fact is amply brought to light by such expressions as Bārakūra-parivarttanakke saluva kāti-gadyāna, Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva dodda-varaha-gadyāna, arōdha Bārakūra-parivarttanakke saluva dodda-varaha-gadyāna. From the contexts in which these expressions occur, it may be safely concluded that they denoted coins brought into circulation in South Kanara from outside but which could be converted into coins issued from the Bārakūru mint.

The growth in commerce and the wide circulation of money must have resulted in the increase of borrowals between individuals. A common feature in the records of the period is the donation to temples of the interest accruing from loans given by the lenders without any surety. Such a loan secured without any mortgage is mentioned in the records as mei-sāla. It is interesting to note that interest for money given as loan⁴² was accepted in kind in some cases. An inscription from

⁴¹ Ibid., No. 520.

⁴² Ibid., No. 452.

Basarūru, dated in A.D. 1450 in the reign of Mallikārjuna, states that the interest per annum over a sum of 200 kāti-gadyāna, taken as a loan (kaḍa) by the settikāras of padu-vakēri from Kōṭiyakka-nāyakiti, was 13 mudi of rice to be measured with the nālvande.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that while the wealth of the Tuḷu country and its people increased under the aegis of the imperial administration, there was a proportionate increase in acts of piety and munificence. Even as the State, the traders and the agriculturists became affluent, they parted with a portion of their earnings and acquisitions for the benefit of the temples and the brāhmanas. This must have kept up the economic structure of the region by ensuring the steady flow of wealth and money from hand to hand.

CHAPTER NINE

RELIGIONS¹

The religious history of South Kanara opens with the wide prevalence, as a state and public faith, of Śaivism. The Kigga² inscriptions of Āluvarasa I and his son Chitravāhana I record royal grants made to the god Śiva named therein as Kilgāpa-³Īsvara and Kilgāpadēva.⁴ The Sorab and Harihar Copper plate grants of the Bādāmi Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya record grants made to devout Śaivite⁵ brāhmanas at the request of Chitravāhana I. The Mallam inscription⁵ of Pallava Nandivarman II records a grant, made at the request of Āluvarasa II, to god Subrahmapya. The god Somēśvara, who is housed in the now ruined rock-temple at Udiyāvara,⁶ is referred to in the Udiyāvara inscription⁶ of Rāpasāgara as Chambukalla-Bhaṭṭāraka,⁷ a name which has survived to this day. The Udiyāvara inscription⁷ of Āluvarasa II refers to this deity as Sāmbukalladēva. The Bhaṭṭāraka of this ancient temple was the

1 The above chapter on religious conditions is based only on information contained in inscriptions from South Kanara. For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Saletore: Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol.I, History of Tuluva, pp. 368-458.

2 Ep.Carn., Vol.VI, Kp. 37 and 38.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol.XIX, pp.146 ff.

4 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

5 Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol.I, pp. 429-30 and plate.

6 SII., Vol.VII, No. 284.

7 Ibid., No. 279.

patron deity of the early Ālupas and the settlement around this region, referred to in the records as Śivaḷḷi and Śiva-vaḷḷi, formed the nucleus of religious life in early Tuluva. Śivaḷḷi was considered so sacred in those early days that some of the records⁸ in their imprecatory passages, declare that anyone who sought to destroy the grants recorded therein would have committed the sin of destroying Vārāpasī and Śivaḷḷi. Goravaru i.e. Śaivite priests were held in high esteem by the early Ālupa rulers. The Udiyāvara inscription of Āluvarasa II states that the grant recorded therein was made in favour of the Goravar. They also find mention in one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions of Māramma⁹ alias Āluvarasa IV.

The Śaivism of the early Ālupa period appears to have been influenced by the cult of Śiva as Pasu-pati i.e. 'the Lord of beasts'. We had seen above, in Chapter II, the possibility of Ālupa-gana Pasupati, of the Halmidi Kannada inscription¹⁰ of about A.D. 450, being the earliest known Ālupa ruler. One of the Udiyāvara hero-stones of the period of the civil war eulogises the deceased warrior as keen on annihilating those who were opposed to the Lord of the Pāsūpata sect (Pāsūpata-nambiran)¹¹ (which may be interpreted to mean either Śiva-Pasupati himself or the Ālupa ruler whom the hero served).

The Shiggaon plates¹² of Vijayāditya record grants made by the emperor, at the request of Chitravāhana I, to a Jaina

8 See, for instance, Ibid., No.284; Ep.Ind., Vol.IX, pp.21 ff., Nos. VI, VII and VIII and plates.

9 SII., Vol.VII, No.283.

10 ARMAD., 1936, pp.72 ff. and plate.

temple built by Kumkumadevī, the former's sister and the latter's queen at Puṇigere-nagara. This town was situated in the Kadamba-
maṇḍala which was at that time, under Ālupa sway. Though this
charter thus helps us to conclude that the early Ālupas were wont
to the observance of religious tolerance, no evidence has been
found so far to suggest the prevalence, in South Kanara itself,
of any religious faith other than Śaivism in those early days.

We must discuss here the Kadiri inscription¹³ of Kundavarma. This important inscription is found engraved on the
pedestal of an image which betrays predominantly Buddhistic
features of iconography. This, coupled with the presence in the
same place of more Buddhistic images, has led scholars¹⁴ to
suppose that Buddhism had entered South Kanara before or during the
reign of Kundavarma. It should, however, be noted that these Buddhis-
tic images are lone instances in the entire region. The inscrip-
tion itself refers to the image as that of Lōkēśvara, a name which
can be more convincingly attributed to Śiva than to Avalōki-
tēśvara of the Buddhist pantheon especially in view of the occu-
rence of such names as Nakharēśvara and Baṅkēśvara for Śiva in
later inscriptions from the region. This identification of Lōkēś-

11 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 18, No. 11 and plate.

12 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff. and plates.

13 SII., Vol. VII, No. 191.

14 Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Vol. I, p. 84; Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp. 383 ff.

vara with Śiva is further supported by an inscription¹⁵ of A.D. 1215 from Mundkūru, Mangalore Taluk, which refers to Śiva as Lōkēśvara. Kundavarma is described in the inscription as pād-āra-vinda-bhramarah Bālachandrasikhāmanēh. Bālachandrasikhāmanī, in the context in which the phrase occurs, is most convincing as an epithet of Śiva, meaning he who has the crescent moon on his fore head. The Buddhistic iconographical features in these Kadiri images are therefore to be taken not as evidence for the prevalence of Buddhism in South Kanara but as evidence of the influence of Buddhist iconographical prescriptions on the works of the sculptors who made those images. In this context, it may be pointed out that the Nātha-pantha school of Śaivism had allowed itself to be greatly influenced by Buddhism¹⁶ and that it was the prevalent faith at Kadiri at least from the middle of the 12th century. The earliest epigraphical reference to a Nātha-pantha deity occurs in the Kadiri inscription¹⁷ of the reign of Kavi-Ālupēndra, palaeographically assignable to the middle of the 12th century and recording grants to the Śaivite god Mañjunātha. It will otherwise be very difficult to explain away the prevalence of Buddhism at Kadiri alone and during Kundavarma's reign alone and its absence elsewhere in that region before and after.

15 ARSIE., 1929-30, 530.

16 Barth: Religions of India, p. 213.

17 This inscription is being reported in ARIE., 1964-65, App. B.

Śaivism continued to be the chief religious faith of the state and the people during the period of the medieval Ālupas. Unlike the records of the early period, which are mostly in the nature of hero-stones, the inscriptions of the medieval Ālupas, belonging as they do to a period of comparative peace and progress, provide copious attestations to the religious leanings not only of the rulers and their individual subjects but of various organisations and guilds. The implicit faith of the rulers of South Kanara and their subjects in the efficacy of devotion to the gods cannot be better illustrated than by referring once again to the Sujēru inscription¹⁸ of A.D. 1305 from which we learn that Baṅkidēva II made a successful appeal for rains to the deity Timirēśvara at a time when his kingdom had been hit by drought.

The example in leading a life of religious faith was set by the king himself. We have seen that the royal court was graced, whenever the ruler granted audience, not only by his officials and princes but by the priests (purōhitaru), preceptors (dēśipurusharu) and ascetics (rishiyaru).

A number of Śaivite temples, with Śiva for the main deity, were built in many towns and villages of the Ālupa kingdom during this period. Such were the temples of Mārkaṇḍēśvara at Bārakūru and Kachchūru (Udipi Taluk), Baṅkēśvara at Maṅgaḷūru (Mangalore Taluk), Baṇḍūru and Paḍuvari (Ceondapur

Taluk) Lōkēśvara at Mundkūru (Mangalore Taluk), Timirēśvara at Sujēru (Mangalore Taluk) Kōṭīśvara at Āvarśe and Pādebeṭṭu (Coondapur Taluk), Kāntēśvara at Beluvāyi (Mangalore Taluk) and Sōmanātha at Bārakūru and Handādi (Udipi Taluk) and Paḍuvari (Coondapur Taluk). We learn from the available inscriptions that these temples were rendered rich in lands and in money by generous gifts from the rulers as well as the people.

Śiva's consort in her ruthless form as Durgā had a number of temples dedicated to her from early medieval times. As the main deity of a temple at Mūdabidure she was known as Durgādēvi and Bidireya-Dēvī. Inscriptions in her temple at Nīlavarā call her as Nīruvāra-Bhagavati and Durgā-bhagavati.

The trade guild known as the nakhara was responsible for the building of a temple for Śiva, named Nakharēśvara, at the trade centre of Basarūru as early as in A.D. 1154.¹⁹ The Nakharēśvara temples, in particular, appear to have provided an important place to Gaṇapati for Nakharēśvarada-Gaṇapati figures prominently in inscriptions referring to the Nakharēśvara temples of Basarūru and Papambūru (Mangalore Taluk).

The Hindu Trinity Brahma-Vishṇu-Mahēśvara are mentioned in an inscription²⁰ of A.D. 1302 from Mangalore as receiving the pinda-dāna given by the Ālupa ruler Baṅkiḍeva II

19 SII., Vol.IX, part I, No. 393.

20 Ibid., Vol.VII, No. 127.

for the merit of his deceased sister Mōchalamahādēvi.

The period of the medieval Ālupas is important for the religious history of South Kanara in that we get evidence, for the first time, for the prevalence of the cult of Vishnu-Krishna and of Jainism. The earliest reference to a temple dedicated to Vishnu-Krishna occurs only in A.D. 1236 and the deity is called Gōpinātha. Vaishnavism was apparently the faith of a minority until it received a great fillip through the teachings of the great preacher Madhvācharya towards the end of the thirteenth century. Even as it is, we will notice, in the passages to follow, that available inscriptions do not properly testify to the wide prevalence in South Kanara, during the Vijayanagara period, of the cult of Krishna, a fact which is otherwise copiously evidenced by other sources.

It is not known when exactly Jainism entered South Kanara. Existing temples of the Jains do not point out a much earlier date than the end of the thirteenth century. The reference to Pārśvadēva in the passage Bidireya Pārśvadēvaru Bara-²¹yisi in a much damaged inscription from Mūdabidure belonging to A.D. 1215 and to the reign of Kulasēkhara I has been taken²² to evidence the prevalence of Jainism in that region at least as early

21 Ibid., No. 222.

22 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, p.413.

as in A.D. 1215. But this inscription as well as another ²³ belonging to A.D. 1205 and to the same place and reign record grants made to the Śaivite goddess Durgā. In the context in which it occurs, Pārśvadēva can only be taken to stand for the proper name of an individual and not as the name of a Jaina deity.

It has also been suggested, ²² on the strength of an undated Varāṅga inscription, ²⁴ which has been discussed in detail in Chapter IV above, that Jainism was prevalent in South Kanara during the reign of Kuṣasēkhara I. But we have pointed out above that this Varāṅga record belongs not to Kuṣasēkhara I's reign but to that of his successor Kuṇḍaṇa. Kuṇḍaṇa was a Śāntara prince and was therefore a Jaina by faith. The mention of the Jaina preceptors Maladhārīdēva, Mādhavachandra and Prabhāchandra in that record should be read with reference to Kuṇḍaṇa's brief rule over the Ālupa kingdom and not with reference to the prevalence of Jainism in South Kanara itself. Further, as has been shown in Chapter IV above, not only Kuṣasēkhara I but his predecessors and his successors, with the exception of Kuṇḍaṇa, were Śaivites and made generous gifts to Śaivite temples. Kuṇḍaṇa's immediate successor Dattāṭupa II was actually a devoted disciple of the Śaivite preceptor Gaganasīvāchārya.

Jainism in South Kanara received royal patronage only

23 SII., Vol.VII, No. 223.

24 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 526.

after the advent of Hoysala authority over the region. Ballāla III's queen Chikkāyitāyī herself was a Śaivite and, during her sway over South Kanara, made grants to the gods Kōṭṭisvara of Hatyaṅgaḍi (Coondapur Taluk), Virēsvara of Hosāla (Udipi Taluk), Kāntēsvara of Kāntāvara (Karkala Taluk), Sōmanātha of Bārakūru and Durgā-bhagavatī of Nīlāvara (Udipi Taluk) and the brāhmanas.

But the Hoysala feudatory Lōkanāthadēvarasa, whose possessions included portions of the Karkala Taluk of South Kanara, was a Jaina ruler. His inscription ²⁵ from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, belonging to A.D. 1334, records grants of lands by a number of donors including the ruler's sisters Bommalaḍēvi and Sōmaladēvī, to the basti of Śāntinātha built at Kārakaḷa by the disciples of the Jaina preceptor Kumudachandra-bhaṭṭarakadēva. From this, it may be safely concluded that Jainism had made gains in South Kanara at least early in the fourteenth century.

The Ālupa ruler Kulasēkhara III was much influenced ²⁶ by Jainism. His inscription from Mūḍabidure, belonging to A.D. 1384, states that he was a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina preceptor Chārukīrtti (śrīmach-Chārukīrtti dīva-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhaka) and that he was seated on his jewelled throne at a basadi (name damaged in the record) at Bidire. The inscrip-

25 SII., Vol.VII, No. 247.

26 Ibid., No. 225.

tion records grants made by the ruler to the Jaina deity Pārśvanātha.

This, however, does not prove that Kulasēkhara had become a convert to Jainism. His immediate successor, Virapāṇḍya-dēva II, who is the last known of the Ālupa rulers, is seen, in his only available inscription²⁷ from Mūḍabidure, dated A.D. 1397, making grants to the goddess Durggādēvi showing thereby that, during their long existence as a ruling family from the middle of the 7th to the end of the 14th century, the Ālupas had displayed unswerving faith in their original religion, Śaivism.

The large number of Vijayanagara inscriptions dating from A.D. 1345 and, for purposes of this thesis, upto 1565 show that Śaivism maintained its position as the principal religion of the region but that Jainism and, to a lesser extent, Vaishnavism had also risen to great popularity. The principal city of South Kanara in those days, Bārakūru, was the scene of hectic religious activities and housed within its bounds temples dedicated to the deities of all these three faiths. Inscriptions copied from this ancient city refer to the Śaivite temples of Mārkaṇḍēśvara, Nāgēśvara, Bhairavadēva, Chappdikādēvi and to three different temples of Sōmanātha in the city's three quarters, Taṁbulagere, Mapigārakēri and Mūrūkēri. Another important Śaivite temple at Bārakūru was that of Kelleṅgereya-Vināyaka which was rendered rich by many grants by its devoted followers, the avivaru samasta-halaru (avivaru-samasta-halaru kondāduvantā

Kellen-gereva Vināyakadēvaru). This temple also contained subsidiary shrines for Mahādēva and the Vaishṇavite deity, Gōpinātha.

Among the Vaishṇavite temples at Bārakūru were those of Gōpinātha, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇumūrthi. The Jainas had at least three temples in that city, two of them dedicated to Pārśvanātha and Ādiparamēśvara and the third called Māṇikya-basti.

Throughout the length and breadth of South Kanara were a number of temples of Śiva differently called Mārkaṇḍēśvara, Kōṭēśvara, Kōṭinātha or Kōṭisvara, Sēnēśvara, Kāntēśvara, Timirēśvara, Nakharēśvara, Nandikēśvara, Tuḷuvēśvara, Gōkarpēśvara, Mahābalēśvara, Kundēśvara, Kṛumandilēśvara, Sōmēśvara, Sōmanātha, Vīrabhadra, Mahāliṅga, Pañchaliṅga, Mahādēva, Śaṅkara, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Viśvanātha and Amṛitanātha. Besides these, temples for Śiva, called by them Mañjunātha, were built at Kadiri, Bapṭvāḷa-mūḍa and Baṅgārakuduru in Mangalore Taluk and Idu in Karkala Taluk. We have stated earlier that a temple for Mañjunātha was in existence at Kadiri even in the 12th century during the reign of Kavi-Āḷupēndradēva. This school of Śaivism, which was much influenced by Buddhism, does not appear to have spread in South Kanra outside the Mangalore and Karkala Taluks.

Other temples dedicated to Śaivite deities were those for Śiva's consort, differently called Bhagavatī, Durgābhagavatī, Durgāparamēśvarī, Hīṅgulādēvi, Maṅgalādēvi, Hoḷalādēvi and Mūkāmbikā. At Paṇambūru (Mangalore Taluk) was a temple dedicated to Umā-Mahēśvara.

Many of the Śaivite temples named above were in plural numbers and in many villages. For instance, we learn from available inscriptions of the period that there were at least ten temples in different villages dedicated to Mahādēva during this period.

Vaishnavism received a tremendous fillip in the second half of the 13th century through the teachings of one of the greatest sons of South Kanara, Madhvāchārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of Philosophy. While even a cursory examination of the present day religious schools of South Kanara will prove the wide prevalence of Vaishnavism in that region, it is difficult to assess the impact of the great teacher's preachings on the minds of the Tuluvas during the period with which we are concerned. If the number of temples is taken as an indication, it is apparent that the wealth and numbers of the Śaivites was greater than those of any other faith in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period right until the empire's fall. The temple of Kṛishṇa at Udipi, around which revolves the whole edifice of Madhvāchārya's school, finds its earliest mention in an epigraph only in A.D. 1366-67, almost five decades after the founder's death. And, for the period under question, only a few temples are heard of dedicated to Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa differently called Viṣṇumūrti, Kṛishṇa, Narasiṃha, Chakrapāṇi, Gōpinatha, Nārāyaṇa, Sūranārāyaṇa, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Janārdana, Tirumala, Viṭhala and Rāmachandra. Another Vaishnavite deity held in great reverence by the followers of Madhvāchārya and referred to in the records of the period is Āṇjanēya.

As in the late medieval period when we hear of a temple for Brahma-Vishnu-Mahēśvara, the Hindu trinity, called this time Trimūrti, had a temple at Keragāla in Coondapur Taluk in A.D. 1347.

Jainism rose to great heights and was the religion of a large section of the people and of many of the local ruling families, especially during the 15th and following centuries. Many trade guilds and local assemblies caused the renovation of old and the building of new Jaina bastis all over the region, particularly in the Jaina strong holds of the Karkala Taluk. It was during this period that Kārkala, Mūdabidure and Vēpūr became great centres of Jainism. While it was not the case with the other parts of the Tulu country, Jainism became the principal faith in these populous townships, all three of these situated in the Karkala Taluk. The large number of Jaina bastis, which are masterpieces of architecture, even today stand in silent witness to the heyday of Jainism in these towns during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Inscriptions of this period from Mūdabidure contain many stanzas in praise of the devotion to Jainism of the Kaḷasa-Kārkala and Nagire rulers, of various guilds and individuals and even of the young ones. Thus an inscription²⁸ of A.D. 1429 of the reign of Dēvarāya II, which names Mūdabidure as Vēṇupura, says -

Tulu-dēsakke Viśiṣṭam-appa nagaram
śrī-Vēnu-nāmā puram
vilasach-chhri-Jina-dharmma-mārgga-ratarim
sat-pātra-dānaṅgalim |
nalavim-mālpa subhavvarim Jinakath-ālāpamgalam
sādhu sam-
kuḷadim kēlva susīla-satpurusharim
oppippud-amta puram ||

The author of another inscription ²⁹ of the same year and reign describes the young laṇḍs of Mūḍabidure as bālakar-ellar-udgha-Jina-dharmma-ratar and as anindya-Jin-ōḍita-sāstrasālīḷa.

Devotion to Jainism was a common seal among many ruling houses and their services to their faith were done without any reference to the territorial limitations of their own tiny principalities. As an instance, we may quote the inscriptions of the Nagire rulers at Kārakaḷa and Mūḍabidure and the building of the Pārśvanātha-bastī at Bārakūru by the Kaḷasa-Kārakaḷa ruler, Pāṇḍya-bhūpāla in A.D. 1408, discussed in Chapter VI above.

At Mūḍabidure, which is eulogised in one record ³⁰ as Jina-dharmmad-āgaram, there were many exquisitely built Jaina-bastis

29 Ibid., No. 196.

30 Ibid., No. 198.

(uru-Jain-ālaya-ramya-harmya-chayadiṁ chelv-ādud-ettam puram)

The earliest epigraphical reference ³¹ is to the Gurugaḷa-basti of Chandōgra-Pārsvadēva in A.D. 1390. Since in this year some grants made to the basti are recorded, the basti itself must have ³² been built earlier. The Mūdabidure record ³² of A.D. 1430 of Dēvarāya II records the building of the Tribhuvana-chūdāmapī-mahāchaitya by the Jaina preceptor Abhinava-Chārukīrtti-pandita with the assistance of the people of Sālike-nāḍu, the Chautā ruler and the aruvaru-ballālugaḷu and with the money granted by the imperial governor Dēvarāja-Oḍeya. The extent of support which Jainism enjoyed in those days in South Kanara is evidenced by the statement in the record that the governor made the grant on the orders of the emperor himself. In A.D. 1430, Bhairava of the Nagire ruling house provided copper covering (tāma-podake) for the third story of the Tribhuvana Chūdāmapī Chaitya ³³ of Chandra-Jina built by the halaru at Mūdabidure. In A.D. 1451, a number of settis caused the mukha-mandapa of the Tribhuvana-Chūdāmapī-Chaitya to be built and were also responsible ³⁴ for carrying out a number of repairs.

We have seen, in Chapter VI above, that the Nagire ruler Bhairava I, when his illness had turned fatal in A.D. 1461,

31 Ibid., No. 299.

32 Ibid., No. 196.

33 Ibid., No. 202.

34 Ibid., No. 197.

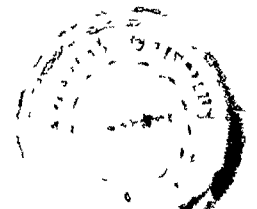
made grants for worship to the deities Chandranāthasvāmi, Sup-
ārśva-tīrthaṅkara and Chandraprabha-tīrthaṅkara of the same Tri-
bhuvana-Chūdāmaṇi Chaitya.³⁵ A number of such inscriptions
testify to the growth of Jainism and Jaina temples in that city
at the hands of the imperial authority, local rulers, local guilds
and the commoners.

Kāraḱaḱa was one of the capital cities of the Jaina
rulers of the Kaḱasa-Kāraḱaḱa-rājya. These rulers expended much
of their wealth on constructing Jaina bastis and in spreading
Jainism among their subjects. The greatest achievements in this
field of this family of rulers were undoubtedly the two Jaina
Glossi at Kāraḱaḱa and Vēṇūr, fashioned after the 10th century
colossus at Śrāvāṇa-bēḱagoḱa.^B The bigger of these two Gummaḱa
images is at Kāraḱaḱa and was caused to be made by Vīra-Pṭāṇḱaya I,
the son of Bhairava I, in A.D. 1432.³⁶ The statue at Vēṇūr
was erected in A.D. 1604 and hence is outside the purview of
the present work.

In the Kāraḱaḱa Taluk, apart from Kāraḱaḱa, Mūdabidure
and Vēṇūr, Hīriyaṅgaḱi, Nellikara, Koraga, Varāṅga and Kera-
vase also fostered Jainism and contained Jaina bastis. Of these
Keravase enjoyed the position of being the secondary capital of
the Kalasa-Kāraḱaḱa rulers. Jainism had also made mark at Basa-
rūru, Bainḱūru and Hatyaṅgaḱi in the Coondapur Taluk and at
Guruvāyankere in the Puttūr Taluk.

35 Ibid., No. 203.

36 Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 109-10.



Jaina pontificates were established during the fourteenth century at Kāraḱaḱa and Mūḁabidure. The earliest known pontiff at Kāraḱaḱa, in the inscription of the Hoysaḱa foudatory Lōkanāthadēvarasa, had the title of Bhānukīrtti while his successors were known by that of Lalitakīrtti. The pontiffs at Mūḁabidure were known as Chārukīrtti and some of them had the distinguishing prefix of Abhinava. They were held in great respect by the Jaina desciples foremost among whom were the rulers of the Kaḱasa-Kāraḱaḱa-rājya from whom the preceptors received such epithets as rāja-guru and kula-guru. Many Chaityas in South Kanara were built and repaired during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the advice of these pontiffs.

This chapter will not be complete without a discussion of the available material on temple administration. Early inscriptions are completely silent in this regard. It may, however, be presumed that the Śaivite priests, goravaru, had a hand in the administration of temples in those early days. Many grants to temples in early medieval days were entrusted to the care of the seṇabōva from which it may be concluded that he had also the business of looking after temple affairs in his village.

During the medieval period, an official designated sthānapati and primarily concerned with temple administration makes his appearance in the inscription⁸. The caste label sthānika applied to a section of brāhmanas in present day South Kanara, who are solely meant for the profession of temple service is to be traced to this official designation of Sthānapati. The sthāna-

pati, however, was only one of the officials meant for temple affairs. Another temple official designated karttā also finds frequent mention in the later records. Practically every government servant serving in a given region, in the medieval days, was connected with the affairs of the temple in that area. The best illustration for this observation is provided by the Mangalore inscription ³⁷ of A.D. 1204 of the reign of Kulasēkhara Ālupa I. This record lays down the following duties for the many officials and individuals:-

sthāna-tantri: he should perform all his duties connected with the deity's avabhṛita-snāna on the occasion of every sam-krānti;

pādamūladavaru: they should make available without fail and without reduction, the quantity of rice for the offering to the deity of everyday nivēdya;

adhyaksha: he should everyday give discourses in the temple precincts;

sēnabōva: he should keep daily minutes on the above activities;

adhikāri: he should punish the above officials for any lapses on their part in carrying out their duties specified above and should, besides, make available oil for burning the perpetual lamp in the temple;

aṅgaḍiya-adhikāri: he should arrange for oil for the lamps for Śivarātri and for rice for the brāhmaṇas on the day of ārādhana.

Besides these, the inscription also stipulates that an individual named Āsrappa should guard the perpetual lamp from going off; that the dancing girls (kūtāduva-bāke-naṁgevavaru) should come to the temple everyday as per the custom in vogue; that, if the king does not enquire into the matters and set right any lapses, he would have committed the sin of killing 1000 cows and brāhmaṇas at Gaṅgā and Rāmēśvara.

Though such was the case even under the medieval Ālupas, during the Vijayanagara period, guilds and local assemblies were more frequently entrusted with the task of protecting and administering gifts and grants made to temples. Expressions such as Chaulikēriyalli mūvaru settikāraru halaru pratipālisuvaru, i dharmada pārupatya oḍetana kōṭekēriya halaru settikārarige etc., are very often met with in the records of this period.

Jainism, though, like Buddhism, it was originally conceived as a classless religion fostering human equality, came to South Kanara as a religion which classified its followers much like Hinduism. The present day counterparts in Jainism for the sthānika community of Śaivism are called in South Kanara as Indras and they are Jaina brāhmaṇas. However, during the Vijayanagara period, which embraces in a large measure the history of Jainism in South Kanara, sthānpati or sthānika was the title of some of the persons engaged in running the affairs of the Jaina

bastis as well. This was logical enough in view of the fact that sthāna generally denoted a place on which stood a temple or which was the property of such a temple. The Jaina bastis also had officials who were known as the karttā.

Instances are too many to be quoted which illustrate the spirit of religious tolerance which characterised the lives and deeds of the rulers and people of the period. It must be pointed out here that the example in religious tolerance was set up by the Vijayanagara emperors and their governors whose many and generous grants benefitted Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite temples and Jaina bastis in equal measures. The best illustration of this tolerant spirit is afforded by the hectic religious activities carried out by the Jaina adherents even after South Kanara, during Sadāśivarāya's reign, had come under the sway of the staunchly Śaivite family of Keladi rulers who, as has been shown in Chapter VI, were responsible in eliminating from the pages of history all the Jaina ruling families of the region.

Religious festivals were celebrated with great enthusiasm and available inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period contain references to the festivals of Dīpāvalike (Dīvalige), Pañcha-parva, Śivarātri, Vasanta-yugādi, Vaiśākha-hunnime, nūla-habba, Benakana-chauti, Tudiya-habba etc. We learn from an inscription³⁸ of A.D. 1458 that Dīpāvalike was celebrated with a festival of lights lasting for three days (dīvaligeva habbada mūru-dina dīpōstsavada dharmma).

Citizen's and merchants' guilds as also prominent individuals had their customary ranks and privileges on occasions of public celebration of religious festivals. Mutual differences and rivalries in this regard occasionally led to disturbances and clashes between rival groups of devotees. The most serious of such disturbances is found recorded in the Koṭṭēśvara inscription of A.D. 1551 of the reign of Sadāsivarāya. This highly interesting inscription records that in the month of Kārttika (in A.D. 1550) the entire Tuḷu-rājya had assembled at Koṭṭēśvara to celebrate the Tuḍiya-habba i.e. the festival of lights. At that time, for reasons not stated in the record itself, a serious dispute broke out and the assembled pilgrims were involved in armed conflicts. The temple precincts were defiled by the corpses of brāhmanas, sūdras and sacred cows and, consequently, the temple doors were closed and all worship and services to the deity were suspended. On Saturday the 11th of April, A.D. 1551, which is the date of the record, expiatory services were conducted under the orders of the then muslim governor of Bārakūru-rājya, Ekadaḷakhāna and the temple doors were once again opened.

Temple honours to individuals and groups were ordered by convention and were strictly adhered to. Attempts at superseding these conventions occasionally resulted in disputes. We have referred, in Chapter VII above, to the agreement arrived at between the settikāra guilds of paḍuvakēri and mūdkēri at Basarūru regarding the provision of sheep, areca-nuts etc., to the

temple of Dēvī on occasions of festivals and even regarding the streets through which they should take their respective articles to the temple.

The most common of grants made to temples was, naturally, land and it was called dēvasva even as land donated to brāhmanas was known as brahmasva. Dēvasva lands were as a rule exempted from all or many of the land and agricultural taxes and the building of palaces by the rulers on such lands was expressly forbidden by such statements as arasige aramane kattuva adhikārav-illa. Even the construction of other temples on a dēvasva land are found prohibited in some inscriptions (e.g., ī dēvasvadalli ilidu guḍiya katta salladu) . Besides declaring lands gifts to temples as tax-free, inscriptions also stipulate that the incomes in kind and in cash should go to the temples irrespective of the failure of the seasons (eg. varushamrati³⁹ bānagēdu baragēdu ennade nadasi baharu). The purposes for which grants were made to the temples were scrupulously adhered to and any lapses in this regard were set right after due enquiry and at the earliest opportunity. We had seen above, in Chapter VI, that, as a result of an invasion of Śivalī in A.D. 1437 by the imperial governor Appappa-Oḍeya, the affairs of the famous Kṛishṇa temple at Uḍipi had fallen into bad ways and that, in order to restore its original glory, the temple received a number of grants and that the idol of Kṛishṇa, which

39 SII., Vol.IX, part II, No. 444.

had been removed elsewhere during the disturbances, was brought back and reinstalled in the temple.

Religious conditions in South Kanara remained much the same even after the fall of Vijayanagara; only the school of Madhvāchārya gained greatly in its following and came to occupy a position of pre-eminence at the expense of Śaivism and, in particular, of Jainism. This development, however, falls beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Much has been written on the lessons and warnings which the sudden and tragic collapse of the great power of Vijayanagara at the dawn of A.D. 1565 holds out for mankind. Yet, those who lived in that year to witness and to suffer by that cataclysm viewed the tragedy as just another fall of an empire in just another trial of strength. The empire that rolled into dust before their fleeing eyes was not of greater avail to them than the meagre remnants of the imperial riches which they still had the time to lay their hands upon. Neither the princes and the nobility, who had suddenly lost the security and luxuries of ^a well-built empire, nor the inhabitants of the great city of Victory and its surrounding areas, who had lost even more, grasped the immediate significance of this defeat and proved it by plunging head long into countless intrigues even before the dust had settled back on the battle-field. The throne which had been, for more than two eventful centuries, the nucleus and source of strength and inspiration for a vast and flourishing empire became the symbol of dissensions and sanguinary deeds. The epidemic of reclusiveness spread fast and wide and erstwhile ¹ feudatories lost no time in practicing independence. Surprisingly, as though, available inscriptions belonging to the post-Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi period show that the border province of South

1 Vide A History of South India (II edn.), p. 285.

Kanara continued to form a part of as much of the empire as had survived that inglorious battle. Really speaking, however, there was no element of surprise in the continued provincial status of Tuluva even beyond A.D. 1565. It was the direct and logical result of certain far-reaching developments in the political history of the region early in the second half of the 16th century. But before studying these developments it may be well to examine the factors which allowed them to take place without a murmur of protest either from the people or from the chieftains of the many local principalities.

It has been made clear in Chapters III and IV above, dealing with the history of the region from the middle of the 7th century to the end of the 14th, that, for centuries at a stretch, the inhabitants of Tuluva were allowed to enjoy political independence and isolation to a degree unknown to any other region of similar size and situation in the peninsula. During this protracted period, they were under the sway of the Ālupas, their own native ruling house, had developed their own political and administrative set up and even economic life and had had ample time and opportunities to develop a distinct social and linguistic identity for themselves. Even after the invasion of the kingdom by Hoysala Ballāla III and during the reign of his queen Chikkāyī Tāi (A.D. 1333-1348) over the region, the Tuluvas continued to owe allegiance to the old ruling house of the Ālupas. If the suggestion² that Chikkāyī Tāi was an Ālupa princess is to be accepted, it becomes clear that the Hoysala invasion re-

2 Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva, pp.290-91; The Hoysalas, p. 165.

sulted in the sway over Tuluva by two rulers of the same native dynasty and not in the introduction of an alien rule. The Ālupas continued as a ruling power, even after the annexation of their kingdom by the Vijayanagara empire, until about A.D. 1400 and never once did they acknowledge the Hoysala and Vijayanagara rulers as their masters.

The long life of the Ālupa dynasty appears to have met with a natural end. There is nothing on record to even suggest that the Ālupas were put down by force and eliminated from power. In the light of the complete absence of any mention of Ālupa subordination to the Vijayanagara emperors, it is reasonable to surmise that the presence of imperial authority in their kingdom, which the military strength of the Ālupas was incapable of preventing, must have set in motion a steady decline in the power potential of the Ālupas and must have resulted in their silent departure from the political arena. For a student of Tuluva history, who is bound to miss, with a sense of sadness, a vital link in the long history of the region with the tacit exit of this ancient ruling house, the fact that they survived as local rulers for over half a century the extension of Vijayanagara authority into South Kanara strikingly brings home not only the long standing of the Ālupas in the region but also the Tuluvas' sustained loyalty to their old institutions and their love for the values of political independence. For, the Ālupas could not have run their own line of administration, side by side with that of a far more resourceful imperial power, in the



absence of allegiance and support from its subjects. But the final result of this unequal competition between the Ālupas and Vijayanagara, in which neither rival bothered about the other, was dictated by the vast difference in resources of the contenders, one a minor dynasty strictly confined to a tiny stretch of land and the other well set on its journey towards greater glories. The political independence of South Kanara, which has been repeatedly noticed in the pages above and which the region, its rulers and their subjects had come to enjoy largely owing to the attitude of indifference inherited in the earlier centuries from one imperial power of the Deccan by its successor, was no longer compatible with the policy of unifying the whole of South India as a bastion against the onslaughts of the standard-bearers of Islam.

Though Tuluva lost its political independence, its people retained their distinct identity and they were helped in achieving this by the administrative set up introduced into the region by the emperors. Had the imperial governors been so instructed, they could have, at their will, replaced every indigenous set up in the administration with the method prevalent elsewhere in the empire. On the other hand, South Kanara inscriptions of this period clearly demonstrate the fact that the governors fostered every local institution and that these organisations, with a local stamp, grew in number and importance as the decades rolled by. It is also seen from available records that the administrative grip of the imperial authorities tightened only gradually, becoming more and more comprehensive and assertive as time

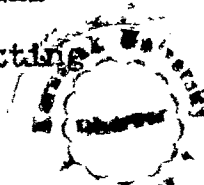
wore out. This, coupled with the fact that numerous chunks of the district came under the sway of local rulers, who enjoyed considerable autonomy within their own territorial spheres, must have left the Tuluvas with much of their legacy as an independent people.

In this, the many local chieftains played, by necessity, a peculiar role. There were many fairly powerful chieftains, like the Kalasa-Karakala rulers, and there were others like the Ajilars who controlled only a few villages. Most of them professed the Jaina faith and the imperial administration provided no affront to their religious freedom. At the same time, these ~~the~~ chieftains were mutually ill-disposed towards one another and hence were at no time of any threat to the running of the imperial administration. In spite of the complete absence of any epigraphical evidence to this effect, it may be safely concluded that these chieftains paid regular tributes to the imperial treasury as a price for their respective regional autonomy. Each local ruler had his own army but these were for most of the time engaged in mutual warfares. The inscriptions of these local rulers suggest that they had learnt to ignore, for most of the period, the imperial governments of Bārakūru and Mangalore. This feeling extended itself to their subjects who had other reasons too for inculcating a feeling of indifference towards the fate of the empire though not towards the imperial authorities who were present in their midst.

The storm in the form of a militant religious crusade, which had frightened the rest of the Hindu rulers of South

India to unite behind one throne and fight for the survival of their ageless religious values, had never once blown across South Kanara. We have pointed out above that the annexation of the coastal kingdom was carried out by the empire to facilitate the import of war horses from foreign lands. The Taluvas must have felt lukewarm towards this new power because its arrival led to the decline and final disappearance of their ancient royal house. Only the utter impossibility of contesting the extension of imperial sway into their region forced the Taluvas to accept their provincial status. But the steady increase in trade and in money circulation which brought forth numerous benefits to the people of South Kanara appears to have resulted in increased familiarity between the people and their new masters. The large number of inscriptions, which become more copious reign after reign, attest to the increased participation, side by side, of the imperial officers and the people of South Kanara. In addition to this, we also notice in the inscriptions, a greater degree of contacts between the governors and the local rulers.

This steady improvement in relationship between the governors on the one hand and the people and local chieftains on the other received a serious set-back early in the second half of the 16th century. Sometime in or before A.D. 1554, the region of South Kanara fell into the hands of the Keladi ruler Sadāsivanāyaka when it was gifted to him as amara-māgani by the puppet emperor Sadāsiva (A.D. 1542-76). Sadāsiva-nāyaka is said to have over-run the entire district and after putting



down the local rulers, is said to have commemorated his triumphal march by erecting a pillar of victory at Kasargode.³ Neither the developments which called for this invasion nor whether it preceded or followed the acquisition of the territory by Sadāsiva-nāyaka is stated anywhere. It will be reasonable, however, to presume that the invasion followed the acquisition. It is well known that the Keladi rulers were devout followers of Virasaivism. It is not unlikely that when South Kanara was brought under their control, the Jaina chieftains, fearing for their religious freedom, rose in revolt. The Keladi house was too powerful to be deterred and Sadāsiva-nāyaka established his mastery over the region by a show of his military strength. This military success ensured the continuance of South Kanara, by virtue of its subjection to Keladi authority, as a province of the decimated empire of Vijayanagara even beyond A.D. 1565. But it must be remembered that Keladi subordination to Vijayanagara after A.D. 1565 was only opportunistic and was no more than a stroke of political diplomacy. The Keladi house had built its own formidable power and no longer depended on the strength and stability of the empire for its own survival.

Keladi authority over South Kanara put an end to the direct relationship between the region and the empire. Till

3 Śivatattvartnākara, V kallōla, v. 5; Kelaci-nripa-vijaya, II advāsa, 61.

A.D. 1554, the emperor himself or his immediate officer appointed tested servants to the posts of governors at Bārakūru and Mangalūru. But the Keladi rulers appointed their own men to rule over South Kanara and whenever they sought imperial consent for their nominees, it was more as a matter of courtsey to the tottering throne.

These developments had a marked impact in the life of the Tuluva populace. They once again lapsed into a feeling of indifference towards the fate of the empire. They appear to have lost once again the interest in participating in the day to day political administration of the region. This lack of interest may be one of the reasons why, when the entire South was shocked into disunity immediately after the empire's defeat at Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi, South Kanara displayed no such initiative in earning back its political independence. This lack of interest is illustrated by the decrease in the number of inscriptions in Tuluva after A.D. 1565. Even of the small number of available records of the post-1565 era, the majority do not refer to any political authority but merely record grants made by private individuals. This tendency to ignore political developments at home persisted for long and until the first of November 1956 when South Kanara was allowed to re-enter the fold of its parent state of Karnāṭak and strive in unity for the glory of Mother India.

APPENDIX

Texts of some published and unpublished inscriptions of importance to the history of South Kanara are included in this appendix. The impressions of these epigraphs are lying in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India to whom I am deeply indebted for the permission accorded to me to study and reproduce the texts given below. The inscriptions are in Kannaḍa language and characters unless stated otherwise.

I Vaḍḍarṣe Inscription of Āluvarasa I¹

[This inscription, engraved on an irregularly shaped conical slab, is set up in the prākāra of the Mahā-līṅgēśvara temple at Vaḍḍarṣe, Udipi Taluk.]

TEXT

A

1 Kanakasīvan=varedon [|*]²

2 Svasti [||*] śrīmatu

1 ARSIE., 1931-32, No. 296.

2 Though the writer's name generally occurs at the end of records, in this particular case it has been engraved at the very beginning.

3 Āluvarasarā

4 rājyad-ulḷe Kandavarṁma-

5 rasarā prāmāp[y-ā]-ā] Gu[ṇḍanna]- ? Is this line ...

6 rā nāṭṭu mudime u[l]

7 . . [ba]nna Sattigāri mudi- See ?

8 me keye Āḍakkappa Voḍḍa-

Āḍakkappa ...

9 rseyan-vāra keye vilo . .

(...)

10 olidu kañchu kil-gañchu mo . .

(...) ?

11 . . vu

B

1 ndi³

? 2 [di]tya[rsa]ru . . . ā[mba]l-kelayiyā Satyā-

Is this line ...

3 [di]tyarsaru ga . mege appa [a]-

4 duḡe u Sattigāri Banne ā[ypavura]

5 Chiriyappa Guṇḍannarā vesadin . . .

? ?

6 padinēl-kañchu kil-gañchu ondu saṭṭuga ottanoḷu ta . .

3 The rest of the letters in this line are badly damaged and lost.

- 7 padinēl̥bar-upbār-ppārvvār ālappakkennālva . . . lli . . . ondu
- 8 [Vo]ḍḍa[rase] . . . duma pāḍiyān Gōpa[rasa] . yara [yḍā]ya
- 9 Ā . ra . [Vo]ḍḍara[se] . . . Gōpa . . . Paḍuvali[yā]-
nāḍola . . .
- 10 . . . [p]ṇar-irvva[r]-Paḍuvali[yā]nāṭṭu mudī[me] barasi . . .
yūalirppa
- 11 . . . [ko]ṭṭadu pannerāḍu ki
- 12 ka bhūmi koṭṭā nalida
- 13 pātakam-akk[um]

C

- 1 tya[rsar]gge pa[ṭu]āyā melke ā
- 2 pattondiyu Naggepāḍiyā galde ū Naggepāḍiyān
- 3 ta pattondi avarggilla

II Mallam Inscription of Nandiyarman II and Āluvarasa II⁴

[This inscription is engraved on a slab built into
the floor of the Subrahmanya temple at Mallam, Gūḍur

4 Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol.I, pp.429-30
and plate.

Taluk, Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh. The record is in Tamil and is written in Tamil characters of the 8th century.]

TEXT

- 1 svasti [||*] śrī-Nandippōttarasarkku-ppa-
- 2 dinaindāvadu Peyiyūr-ilāṅkō-
- 3 t̥ta[t*]tu Tiruvaṇbūr Subṛihmaṇyaṛ[ku] a-
- 4 vvaṛre-ppon ayimbadi[nār]-ka-
- 5 laṅchin-ull-ūmbadu-vāra[m-āru]-
- 6 kalaṅchu ponnum viḷakkukkuḍi-
- 7 ppuram-āga Āḷuva-arasar viṇ[pa]-
- 8 ppattinār-Chaḷukki-arasar-ā[pa]-
- 9 ttiy-āga-ppapittōm nāṭṭā-
- 10 rum ūrārum ālvā[n]um aramarva[rkka] [||*]

III Bantra Inscription of Nripamallārāja⁵

[This inscription is engraved on two sides of a stone

-:478:-

slab set up in the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Bantra,
Mangalore Taluk.]

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 [Sva]⁶stī [||*] śrīmat
- 2 [rā]ja-kul-āmba-ādi-
- 3 [tya]satya-śaucha-vinay-āchāra- ?
- 4 [sam]panna śrī-Nṛipamallārāja-rājya-
- 5 [vrī]ddhiy-ulḷe sakala-guṇa-ga-
- 6 [p-ālaṃ]kṛita Katambha-kul-ōdbhava śrī-prithuvī-rā-
- 7 jyadul irvvaru tamul=ēkastarāgi Vi-
- 8 [lari]ttaḷiyarasarā priy-ānujan Rāchamallan-dugarāja
- 9 Balle-oḍeyārā magan Narasiṅgan-dugarāja-
- 10 [n-āgi]nālvarum-ilḷu Sādanurā marūdaga-
Va. ?

6 Some lost letters along the left margin have been
restored.

- 11 ⁷]=ad=a dēgulad-ul [vō]lagada pāliyava- ? b. ?
 12 rum Śrīdhara-paṭṭarum Mēdhāvi-bhaṭṭarum Pureya
 13 Kittararum Pajjiyaparum Kukke Viś[va]rum Kapakarum ma-
 14 ⁸ [ntippa] Sādanur-uḍeyārum Jayarāma nā .
 15 yigarum kōṭivaḷḷiy=Altiyarum [Va]ya[su]ri (?)
 16 śrī-Vikkrama-poygarum Vallada Uttama-voygarum
 17 Narasiṅga-[vo]ygarum enebarum perggadegaḷu-

Reverse

- 18 m-ilḍu keyida vyavaste em[u]-
 19 ⁹ [ḍa]pageyum pāliyum=[e]sageyum-u (?) { or do ? }
 20 ¹⁰ mu[ndalde] intu salisādōn-Varanā[si] mdo ?

7 The Bantra inscription betrays some Tamil influence (cf. paṭṭar in line 12 for bhaṭṭa). I have, therefore, taken marudagaḷ to be the equivalent of Tamil maruttuvar meaning 'physician'. The word in Tulu for medicine is marḍḍu.

8 The meaning of this word is not clear.

9 Emuda appears to be the equivalent of Tamil emmu-
daiya meaning 'our'.

10 This reading is doubtful. But the letters within the brackets do not easily lend themselves to any other reading. The intended meaning of mund=alde appears to be 'not in the future' i.e. to be discontinued in the days to come.

- 21 sāsira-kavileyu konda pātakan=āgi raurava-
22 narakad-ul tanna gōtra-sahita pulu-
23 kōṭi-vuttu-ppōn[ar-akkum] [||*] I stitiyān-niri[si]-
24 donge āśva-mēdha keyda pa(pha)lam=akke[u]
25 embodu Viḷarittaliyarasargge [u]
26 koḍu embodu Valle-oḍeyargge [||*]

11

IV Polali-Ammunaje Inscription

[This inscription is engraved on a slab set up in front of the Rājēśvarī temple at Polali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk.]

TEXT

- 1 svasti [||*] śrī-Śēbya
2 Arākella Tale-
3 kāḍuḷu k[ā]lām kei-
4 doda kēḷdu kichchu
5 pokko[n] Palyavapa

6 Āligānapa Malalo-

7 kkeiyū[ra] . dhru nir̥isido[n] [||*]

n=kaiyāi[ra]?

V Udiyāvāra Inscription of Ranasāgara ¹²

[This inscription is engraved on a pillar set
up near Ārādhyā Rāmappa's house at Udiyāvāra,
Udipi Taluk.]

TEXT

1 svasti [||*] śrī-Rapasāgara-

2 n=ā Udayapuramān-pogu-

3 valli Nalimapi Nāga-

4 dīkshi[tan*] Ra[pa*]sāgaranā paḍe-

3' 7 It
k. k. k.

5 yānn-eridu jāti-sūra[ra*]nn-e-

6 ridu svargg-ālayakk-ēri-

7 dān ātana tammun-kuḷa[di] ¹³

8 nir̥isidā kallu [||*]

12 ARSIE., 1901, No. 108 A. For the published text,
where the missing letters are not suggested, see SII., Vol.VII,
No. 293.

13 The letter di is engraved below the line.

VI Udiyāvāra Inscription of Māramma¹⁴

[This inscription is engraved on a slab in
the house of one Rāghavēndra-bhaṭṭa in the
village in Udipi Taluk]

TEXT

- 1 Svasti [||*] śrī-Mā[ra]mmā[ḷva]rasarā
2 prithivirājya[ḍuḷḷe pa]di-
3 neṭtu-paṭṭana[muṁ] eṇṭu . . .
4 . . . ṭṭa ūra pūrvvada keyi . . .
5 lla[de] koṭṭā[r] ī vyavastheyān-padi-
6 neṭtu paṭṭana[kkaṁ]śrī-Uj[v]aḷa-nāya¹⁵

VII Bārakūru Inscription of Baṅkidēva I¹⁶

[This inscription is found engraved on a hero-stone
to the left of the entrance into the Somēśvara tem-
ple in mūdakēri, Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk.]

14 This inscription has not so far been noticed anywhere.

15 Incomplete.

16 ARSIE., 1901, 136. For the published text, from
which I have differed in some readings, see SII., Vol.VII,
No.327.

TEXT

- 1 svasti [||*] samasta-lōk-aika-vyāpta-yaśō-vistārarum
- 2 nija-dakshina-dōr-ddanda-karavāl-aika-sahāyaru-
- 3 m-āgi Tulu-vishayadoḷ-nij-ājñeyamni(n-n)ilisi
- 4 maley-Elum-Kombuman-aḍa . . . Malap-Ā-
- 5 lupakk-ellamaṁ nija-svāmi śrī-Baṁkiy-Ālupē-
- 6 ndra-dēvara divya-śrī-pādakk-avanataṁ māḍi mā-
- 7 rī-mēle-vanda chōḷana-daṇḍam beṁ-konḍ-areyaṭṭ-i[tta]
- 8 Ko . . . [ṇḍa]-mukhyar-āg-ilḍa maṇḍalika-mahā-
- 9 maṇḍalikaṛ-nūrirppadiṁbara[m] pegalalli nija-svāmi
- 10 śrī-Baṁkiy-Ālupēndra-dēvargg-oppisi sama[sta-dē]ś-ādhiśva-
- 11 rara negalṭeyum [ni]ja-prabhāva[mu]mam-aṭṭali-
- 12 d-ī samvyavahāradōḷ-[ma]sule-vanda maḷi[mā]ḷa-
- 13 [nu]m tyāgada-kaṇiḷum-āgi Sāntali-sāyiramam ēkachchha-
- 14 trachchāyeyim rājyam-geyyuta Koṅkapa-bhayamkara-
- 15 m-Malepa-Kē[raḷa] ḷa ba

17

VIII Kadiri Inscription of Pāṇḍya-mahādēvi

[This inscription is found engraved on a slab fixed into the floor of the kitchen in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadiri, Mangalore Taluk. It is engraved in Malayāḷam characters of the 12th century and the language is a mixture of Kannaḍa and Kalayāḷam]

TEXT

18

The first few lines are entirely lost. The remaining lines read -

- 1 diṇayi . .
- 2 samvatsarada Vṛischika-māsa onda
- 3 [Śukra]-vārada[lu]. . . pḍāsurada hirya-
- 4 ramanayalu sthira-simhāsan-ārūḍhar-āgi
- 5 oḍḍōlakam koṭṭ-iralu śrī-pāda-sannidhāna-
- 6 dalu samasta-pradhānarum dēsi-purusharum sa-

17. Being reported in ARIE., 1964-65, App. B.

18. Palaeographically the record belongs to the middle of the 12th century and, in view of the reference to Pāṇḍyamahādēvī, is to be assigned to the reign of Kavi-Āḷupa.

- 7 [ka]la-bāhattara-niyōgaṅgaḷum-^{la}ḥḥalu Pā-
8 ṇḍya-mahādēviyarū Paḷḷirpa[ḷḷi]yal-i[rḍdu]
9 . vandarūṁ pādamūliyarūṁ kaiyalu ko-
10 ṇḍa [pāda]tt-oṭṭi-tti[ri*]kal-ittu koṇḍa la-
12 sthatt-uḷḷa bhūmi vila-koṇḍanarāy
13 [i]dēvar śrī-Maṇjunātha-tēvark[u]
14 [iḍa]māy-uḷḷ[oppu]-koṇḍa niyati
15 . . . vēpumāy ke[ḍi] koṭṭa

IX Varaṅga Inscription of Kuṇḍana ²⁰

[This inscription is engraved on a slab set
up in front of the verandah of the Nēmaśvara-
basti at Varaṅga, Karkala Taluk.]

TEXT

- 1 śrīmat-pavitram-akaḷaṁkam-anantakalpaṁ svāyambhuvāṁ sakala-
maṅgaḷam-Ādi tīrtthaṁ [[]] nityōtsavaṁ maṇi-mayam ni[ḷa]-

19 lastha has been wrongly engraved for sthala.

20 ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 5 26.

- 2 yaṁ Jinānāṁ trailōkya-bhūṣaṇam-ahaṁ śirasā prapadyē || śrī-
Chāṁdraṁ sakala-vacha-śrī-chaṁ-
- 3 draṁ dāna-dharmmam-utphaḷa-chaṁdraṁ jaladhiya-chaṁdraṁ
- 4 Til-ārdh-ārdha-pramāṇam hi yō dēvasvam-apēkshate ||
. yāvach-Chāṁdra-Divākaraṁ ||
- 5 srīmat-parama-gambhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ [|*]
jīyāt-trailōkya-nātha-
- 6 sya sā(śā)ṣaṇāṁ Jina-śāṣaṇāṁ (naṁ) || maṛadum-ad-omme
laukikada vā-
- 7 rtteyan-āḍa[da] kēta-bāgilāṁ tereyada Bhānuv-astamitam-
āḍaḍe pōgaḍa meyya-
- 8 n-ommeyuṁ turisada makūṭ-āsanake sōlada gaḍa-vimukta-
virtti (vr̥itti) yaṁ mareyada
- 9 ghōra-durddhara-tapas-charapaṇāṁ Maladhāri-dēvara || muniye
Jāṁgam-[jēta]bīmban-anavadya-
- 10 chārane Jaina-śāṣana-rakshāmapī śāntane sakala-rāga-dvēsha-
prabhañjjanan-urvvī-nu-
- 11 tane guṇa-prapayī tān-embinaṁ viśva-mēdiniyola[ī*] Mādhava-
chāṁdra-dēvan-esedaṁ cheḥhātra-chakr-ēśvaraṁ ||
- 12 Jina-mata-Lakshmiḡ-abhyudayaṁ-āḍadu bhavya-jan-ānurāga-
va[r*]ttanege viśuddha-mārggam-aḷava-

- 13 t̥tudu sattya-tapō-nidhāna-na(m̐)ndana-vanarāji-pallavisu-
t̥irddudu Mādhavachandra-dēvan-em-
- 14 b-anupama-yōgi puṭṭuvudum-ī vasudhā-vaḷay-aṅtarāḷad-oḷu ||
nava-vi . . ḷa-kāntam Mā-
(5)
- 15 dhava-samayam-ad-oṁde kālam-esevudu lōka-prapa-bhāsiy-enisid-
ī Mādhava-samayam sata[ta*]m-esevud-idu Chitrataṁam |
- 16 para-samay-ādrige vajram birudiṁ-mār-mmaleva vādi-kōḷāhaḷan-
u ṛadhikaṁ traividy-ābharapam vibudh-ārchchitam
Prabhāchandra-bu-
muraṁ
- 17 dham(dham) || beṭṭada-[dvā]ra-naṁdi muni-rāja-gaj-ēndra-va
[pūbjapaḍa(da)]maṁ meṭṭi kashāya-pāna-jaḷamaṁ tored=ūrjjita-
śīla-dānamam kaṭṭi manōjan-emba parikā-
- 18 ranan-uddhatamain kaḷalchi beṁnaṭṭi vimōham-emba teḍaram
pari[viḍi]dud-aty-apūrvvadiṁ || Tanag-āvar=epig-ēndu ni[ja]
karamam sārdd-attu
Saraṁ
- 19 neyoḷ-irddudakke toreyā baṁd-eriyuṁ su(su)ddhan-ādane
[dōshā]karan-ēmbud-oṁdu pēsar-ēmbiṁ biṭṭude
muni-chūḍāmapī Nēmicham-
muraṁ
- 20 dra ninagam Chandraṅga[m]-anaṁtaram || Śata-makha-pati
vinamira(mra)-Jinapati mura-dhura-vitatan=akhiḷa-bhuvan-
āvāsasthita-vīsada-kīrtti-kāntā-pati yati-pati Nē-

- 21 micāmdra-siddhāmtēsaṁ || śrī-Mūla-saṁgha-janita krānūr-ggapa-
vidita mēghapāshā[p-āmk-ā]nūna-tara-gachchha-vitatas-chāru-
śrī-Chāmdra|yati-pa-
- 22 tir-bh(bh)uvalayē || Layamūrtti Koṇḍakūṁd-ānvaya tat-krānūrggap-
āgra-gapyam śrī-Chāmdra-yamīmdra-natēmdra-sāmdra-yasō-valli-
vijṛim-
- 23 bhit-āsā-valayam || matta[m] [||*] Jagat-prasiddha-mū . . .
Koṇḍakūṁd-ānvaya Krānūr-ggapa Mēghapāshapa gachchha tuchchha
[kā]ṭa-kūṭa-
- 24 pratiba[m]ddhan-ādi sāmsimda . . || Ā jaga-vitata Varāṁgada
Jaina-grihamam tat-tatākamam bāgil-gottageya[m]punarbhrī-
tam mādi
- 25 gupi śrī-Chāmdra-yōgi jasamam paḍeda[r] Kuruḷikuṁda Varāṁga
v-Alevū[ra] basadigaḷ
- 26 svasti [||] samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Pāṁdya-rājādhirāja para-
mēsvara paramabhaṭṭāraka śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṁpara ri-
- 27 purāya-kāmja-kūnjara sāhitya-varanārī-manōrāma | saṁgra(grā)ma-
bhīma | chaturvvēda-budha-jana-vanahpāli-nī[rā]-
- 28 ja-haṁsa | Bhāratī-karpp-āvataṁsa | paṁḍita-Pāṁdya | Pāṁdya-
dhanamjaya | jayāṁgan-ōttuṅga-stan-āliṁgana-pra-
- 29 saṁga|saṁgara-raṁga-kēḷī-vinōda | lōḷa-lōchan-ābaḷā-jana-
manah-kusu(masa)ra | Sarasvatī-karppa-kūṁḍaḷ-ābha-

- 30 rapa | rapa-raṅga-sū(śū)draka ityādi nām-ōpēta Sōma-vaṁśadoḷ-
anēka siṁhāsan-ānamtaram dig-amtarā-
- 31 lam-ilīda kīrtti(kīrtti) Paṭṭiyodeyaṁ duṣṭa-nigraha si(śi)shṭa-
pratipālanā-paran-āgi rāja-rakshitaṁ dharmmam-eṁba muḍi-
- 32 yaṁ kāmnaḍisi dharmmamam saddharmadiṁ rakshisi-dan-alliṁ-
baḷiya Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeyaṁ rājyaṁ-geyd-alliṁ-
- 33 baḷike Kaviy-Āḷuvara rājy-ānantaram niḷa-kula-chikuri-sē-
kharan-enisida Kulasēkhā(khar-Ā)ḷuvaram sukha-
- 34 saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geiyuttire || ā Kulasēkhā(khar-Ā)-
ḷuvara[sara*]sati Jākala-mādēvi rāpi-mukha-da-
- 35 rppapa-māsvikṛite Varāṁgadalli taṭṭakamumaṁ dharmmamam karaṇa
prakaṭṭisidaḷ || allim-baḷiyaṁ Paṭṭiyo-
- 36 ḍeya-Kulasēkhara-dēva-rājy-ānantaram rāya-gaj-aṁkusāṁni(śan-i)
rmaḍida-rājam nūmmaḍa-chakravartti
- 37 dāna-chiṁtāmaṇi chatuṣ-samudra-mudrita-kīrtti-kāntā-manō-
vallabhan-enisi || abheyaman-aṁji-ba[mdu]-mare-
- 38 vokkarig-aṁjad-arāti-bhūbhujargg-abhibhavamaṁ buḍḍhāḷig-
abhivāṁchchhisid-artthaman-ittu bhūtaḷakk-abhinava vāri-rā-
- 39 śi-hari-kalpa-kujāta-phalaṁ bāl-ārghghavaṁ Tribhuvana-śāntara-
kshitibhujam ripurāya-gaj-aṁkus-āhvayaṁ ||

- 40 Aṁtu Tribhuvana-bhavan-ōdara-varttit-ārtthi-sārttha-hṛdaya-
sāntarppana-kāraṇan-appudaṛim Tribhuvana-Saṁ-
- 41 taran-emb-anvarttha-sajñeya[m*]tāldi ripurāyara tūldi dharma-
mama[m*]pālisi rājya-lakshmiyaṁ mīlisi rā-
- 42 jyaṁ-geiyyuttiral-ā mahābhūja-nij-ānujan-apār-ōdāra-sauryy-
āpāra-Vīra-bhūpā-
- 43 laṇiṁ kirīyan-appa Kumḍana-kshōṇi-pālan-akhila-dik-pāla-nīla-
yamaṁ nija-kīrttiyīm dhavaḷise
- 44 jagat-prasiddha-vidyā-vilāsinī-svarṇpa-karṇpa-kumḍaḷ-ābharāṇan-
appu[da*]rīm paṇḍita-Pāṇḍyan-enisi Pāṇḍya-dha-
- 45 nainjayan-appu[da*]rīm dharmma-rakshakanāge [elku-vapu-]
kāraṇaḍim tann-Āḷva-dēsadoḷ munnaṁ Varāṅga[v-a]m-
- 46 ba mahā-pura[māṁ]dharṁmamāṁ māḍi nā[ḍo]ḷ baḷiyaṁ karedu
kēḷdoda-goṭṭar-aṁt-appa dharṁmamāṁ sudharmadim
- 47 Kumḍaṇ-ōrvvīśvaraṁ rakshisi prakāṭibhūtaṁ māḍidan-ā
dharṁmada sīmā-saṁmaṁdhav-āvud-eṁda-
- 48 ḍe mūḍalu baḍana ko . . teṁkalu Niḍugumḍigāgi baṁda paḷḷa .
paḷḷave mēre paḍuvalum baḍa-
- 49 galum [ā] paḷḷadiṁ-porage dēvasvamuṁ hadi-kāḷanum-iṁt-ī
dharṁmama[m] dēsādhīśvaruṁ^{ar} ēḷubaḷiyum
- 50 rakshisuvar-ī dharṁmag-apāyavaṁ chīmtisidaṁge paṁcha-mahā-
pātakam Gaṁgā-tī[ra]ḍalu sahasra-

- 51 kavileya sahasra bra(brā)hmaparam koṃd-anitu-rāpaṃ prad-
dugum|| Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō ha-
52 rētu vsu ṃdharām [|*] shasṭir-vvarsha-sahasrā(srā)ri
vishhāyaṃ jāyatē krimiḥ || Sāmānyō=
53 yaṃ darṃma-sētur-nṛipāṇāṃ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ
[|* sarvvān-ētān-bhāgīnaḥ pārtthivēṃdrān=bhūyō bhū-
54 yō yōchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || Bahubhir-vvasuddhā dattā rājabhis-
Sgar-ādibhiḥ [|*]
55 yasa yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ (lam) _²¹

X Prince of Wales Museum Inscription of Dattalupa II²²

[This inscription is engraved on a slab stated to be discovered at Hungund, Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District. (Museum No. 27) This is engraved in Kannada characters of the 13th century.]

TEXT

1 svasti [|*] śrīmat-Pāṇḍya-chakravartti rāya-

21 There are four more lines which are not legible. They, however, contain a few more imprecatory verses only.

22 ARIE., 1963-64, App. B, No.

- 2 yara baṁ . Datālpēṁdra-
- 3 dēvarasaru śrī-Dhurvāsa-munīndra-
- 4 vāṁsa(śa)-tilaka lakṣh-ādhyāya-saṁ-
- 5 tati-saṁjātar-appa śrīmatu Gagana-
- 6 śiva-śaivāchāryyarige dharmōtta-
- 7 ravāgi koṭṭa Yijapinalu Ka-
- 8 nyāṇāda beṭṭu kara-mara-sa-
- 9 hitaṁ āchāryyaru tā-
- 10 vu Nagarēśva(śva)rada Viṣṇuśva(śva)ra-dēva-
- 11 rige nivēdyakke kalpisidaru ida-
- 12 nu avara saṁtatiyavaru
- 13 koṇḍ-anubhavisuvaru
- 14 idak-ārānu vakra . sar-āda-
- 15 [de] Vārāṇasīyalī sā -
- 16 brāhma